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ECCLESIASTICAL HISTORY

OF

NEW ENGLAND;

COMPRISING NOT ONLY

RELIGIOUS, BUT ALSO MORAL,

AND OTHER RELATIONS.

BY

JOSEPH B. FELT.

"Learn from the events already taken place, for that is the best learning."

CYRUS IN XENOPHON.

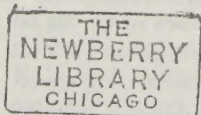
"But whether New England may live any where or no, it must live in our history."

COTTON MATHER.

V. 2

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VOL. II.



BOSTON:

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1862.

24. The Legislature having drawn up a declaration,* dispatch it to the Commissioners. In this paper they justify their course with them; complain of their protection to John Porter, Jr., and thus wresting him from the hands of Colonial justice, and of their summoning the authorities to answer the charge of Deane and others before them, as a judicial tribunal. In view of these things they declare, "That in observance of duty to God and his Majesty, and to the trust committed to them by his Majesty's good subjects of this Colony, we cannot consent unto or give our approbation of the proceedings of the above gentlemen." On November 20, Carr and Maverick wrote* to Nichols, that on the 24th of May, the time they had summoned the Legislature to answer before them, they received their declaration by 8 o'clock in the morning, an hour before the trial was to begin, and that this document was proclaimed by sound of trumpet, under Col. Cartwright's chamber-window, in Bredan's house, the former of these two being confined with the gout.

To comply with the wish of the Commissioners, that they would have their public papers in more loyal style, the Legislature head the above protest, thus: "A Declaration by the General Court of His Majesty's Colony in the Massachusetts Bay, New England." They ordered this document to be published in three places of Boston, by Oliver Purchase, on horseback, with sound of the trumpet; and that Thomas Bleigh, trumpeter, and Richard Wait, marshal, accompany him; and that "in the close, he say with an audible voice, God save the King."

They raise a Committee to answer the Letter of Secretary Morris, and "consider what is further necessary to be done in reference to what hath passed between the Honorable Commissioners and this Court, as it relates to England."

The Commissioners send a communication to the Court, which acknowledges the receipt of their Protest and says: "We shall not lose more of our labors upon you, but refer it to his Majesty's wisdom, who is of power enough to make himself to be obeyed in all his dominions." They also send proposals in reference to the Colonial laws and other matters.

Among such proposals are the following:* That the King's arms be set up in every Court of justice; that the Colonial vessels and military companies display "the true colours of England;" that Episcopal ministers be not discouraged, and persons joining the national Church, be subject to no fine for such an act; that the 5th of November and the 29th of May be kept as Thanksgiving days,† the former to commemorate deliverance of James I. from

* MS. Danforth Narrative.

† Though the laws for these three holidays ceased with the declaration of our independence of England, yet they continued to be in force there till recently. A letter from London, in the Boston Recorder of Feb. 27, dated Jan. 21, 1859, states that Queen Victoria, had abolished all services for State holidays, except that for the anniversary of her own accession.

1665.]

the gun-powder treason, and the latter, the present King's birth and restoration to the Crown. That the 30th of January be a day of fasting and prayer for "that execrable murder of our late Sovereign, Charles First." That members of Episcopal churches be admitted freemen and to the privileges thereof. That Christmas be allowed. That Quakers may go about their lawful business, "though in other cases they be punished." That the mint house be suppressed. That the confederation of the Colonies is contrary to Charter, and therefore not allowable.

The Court inform the Commissioners, that they are ready to exhibit what claim they have to jurisdiction over the Eastern country.

25. While the Legislature and the Commissioners are thus come to a rupture,* the former take measures to conciliate the King. They order, that as a mark of their gratitude to him, "in the best commodity that may be procured in this, his Colony, meete for transportacon and accommodacon of his Majesties navy, unto the vallew of 500 lb, the whole charge be forthwith prepared and sent by the first opportunity." A committee are appointed for this purpose.

26. The Commissioners,† having ceased their endeavors to act as a judicial body, depart, except Nichols, for New Hampshire and Maine, where they can more easily carry out their purposes. There they undertake to exercise various acts of government. The Bay authorities inform the people, in those parts, that they have not surrendered jurisdiction over them.

28. The Court invite the Commissioners to attend, on the morrow, an examination of Deane's case, for which he had been summoned before the Legislature. In their reply to this the Commissioners say, that after being interrupted, as they had been, which they consider "a violation of his Majesty's authority," they could not imagine that the Court would have proceeded to try the cause themselves. They accordingly protest against such procedure.

With respect to the construction which the Commissioners put on the Charter, contrary to that of our authorities, Danforth remarks as follows: "Before I take the oath of allegiance to his Majesty, which I am ready to do, I do declare, that I will be so understood, as not to infringe the liberty and privileges, granted in his Majesty's royal charter to this Colony of the Massachusetts." In this sense, he and all the members of the Legislature take such an obligation.

"In remembrance‡ of the good services of the late John Endicott, Governor, and the condition of his relict," the Court order the Treasurer to pay for the "wine, cakes, tomb, and powder expend-

* Gen. Ct. Rec. † Hutchinson, 3 ed. vol. i. p. 228.

‡ Gen. Ct. Rec.

ed" at his funeral, and that she have £160 out of the Colony's funds, in equal parts, for five years; £60 whereof are a consideration for her expense of £70 "in mourning clothes for herself, children and family."

Thomas Gould and Thomas Osborn,* who separated from the Charlestown church, Edward Drinker and John George, who were not church members, but had lived many years in the country, are baptized, and joined by Richard Goodall, from Mr. Kiffen's church of London, William Turner and Robert Lambert, from Mr. Stead's church of Dartmouth, England, Mary Goodall and Mary Newel, all enter into covenant as a Baptist church. Cotton Mather says that Seth Sweetser, who came to Charlestown in 1638, from Tring in Herfordshire, was among these early Baptists. A note in the Roxbury church records states that the brethren of the church so formed prophesied in turn, and some one administered the Lord's supper, and that they held a lecture at Drinker's house once a fortnight. Hull informs us that they were organized privately, baptized by each other, and met every Lord's day,

May. This month several Quakers† are apprehended in Boston. They are Edward Wharton, Elizabeth Hooton, Jane Nicholson, Wenlock Christopherson, Mary Tomkins, and Alice Ambrose. The three last came from Rhode Island with Sir Robert Carr. Also Hannah Wright, of about thirteen years old, from Oyster Bay, Long Island, who said that she was divinely called to visit Boston, and warn the rulers to "shed no more innocent blood." While they were before the magistrates, and when these joined in prayer, the Quaker men kept their hats on, which were taken off and thrown down. Mary Tomkins set her foot on one of the hats, and calling to the Court, said, "See, I have your honor under my feet." They asked her where she lived. She replied, "My habitation is in the Lord." Christopherson and Wharton remarked to them, We do not commune with you in prayer; we know you are very wicked, and therefore your prayers are an abomination to the Lord. These two, Mary Tomkins and Alice Ambrose, are sentenced to be whipped through three towns. Wharton was also imprisoned a month.

During this year, as John Small of Salem‡ refused to pay the fines assessed upon him as a Quaker, his best yoke of oxen was seized. Elizabeth, wife of John Kitchen, riding upon a horse, was arrested and the animal taken from her. The result to her, being in a critical condition, was extreme danger of her life.

Thomas Newhouse, on a lecture day in Boston, when the

* Backus, vol. i. p. 355, 6. Russell's Narrative.

† Bishop, N. E. Judged, p. 459, 60.

‡ Besse, vol. ii. p. 236, 7.

1665.]

preacher had closed, attempted to address the audience. He was imprisoned, and the next day whipped ten stripes in the market-place, and then the same number out of town, and again at each of the places, Roxbury and Dedham, and was conducted out of the colony. For endeavoring to address the people of Medfield in the streets there, he met with similar usage.

A family of Marblehead were friendly to the Quakers. They were Edmund Nicholson and wife Elizabeth, and sons Christopher and Joseph. For their preference to such a denomination, they were much opposed. At this point, a sad event took place in their circle. The father was found dead in the water of the seashore. The survivors of his family were prosecuted on suspicion of being his murderers. No conclusive proof was adduced against them. Besse declares that they were innocent. But the Court laid a heavy fine upon the widow, and ordered the sons to stand under the gallows with ropes round their necks.

June 1. The Massachusetts rulers* assert that in consequence of the Commissioners' conduct towards them, the Indians have become insolent; "travelers have been taunted by them, Whence are you of the Massachusetts? the Massachusetts men are all but a straw, blown away without breath." They declare their integrity of motive and purpose to render to God and to Cæsar the things which relatively belong to each of them.

While the royal Commissioners† were in Boston at this period, they sometimes met with other gentlemen at the Ship Tavern, on a corner opposite to what was called Clark's ship-yard in the north part of the town. For meeting there on Saturday evening, which the law forbid, a constable called and rebuked them. Upon this, Carr beat and forced him to retreat. Mason, another constable, determined to visit them at such a time. Before he came, they retired to the house of Mr. Kellond, a merchant, on the other side. The officer went among them there and observed that he was glad they were not at the tavern, for had they been he should have carried them all away; that he wondered at their beating an officer, and thus abusing authority. Carr owned that he was one who beat the constable, and asked Mason if he would dare interfere with his Majesty's Commissioners. Mason replied, Yes, and with the King himself, whom I would have taken, had he been there. "Maverick cried out, Treason! Mason, thou shalt be hanged within a twelvemonth." Complaint was made to Governor Bellingham, who required Mason to give bonds for his appearance. Maverick, the day before the trial, desired that the matter might be dropped. But the Governor thought best for it to proceed. The Jury's verdict was, that Mason uttered the words with which he was charged. The Court of Assistants referred the case

* MS. Danforth Narrative.

† Hutchinson, vol. i. p. 432-4.

to the next General Court, who decided that though his language was highly offensive, yet, as his accusers cleared him of any treasonable design, they had no sufficient proof of his being a capital offender, but sentenced him to be solemnly admonished by the Governor.

In view of hostilities between England and Holland,* and intelligence that a squadron of the latter are bound to this country, the Legislature require the militia of all seaports to be in readiness, and the batteries of Boston to be repaired. There can be no reasonable doubt that a secret and prominent reason for such vigilance was to guard against forces which might be sent over to compel their submission to the dictates of the Commissioners, whose threat covered force of this kind.

A committee on the alteration of the laws, as proposed by the Commissioners, report that they are so important they cannot be decided at this session.

The Court confirm the act of the Commissioners for the united Colonies, passed September 1, 1664, to continue the Confederation, provided the Legislatures of Plymouth and Connecticut do the same.

Reflecting on their rupture† with the Commissioners, the authorities say that their situation exposes them either to the King's displeasure by neglecting to conform with the proposals of his Commissioners, or to sacrifice their liberties, peace and comfort, to "such ambitiousness as was never yet thought fit for the government of any of his Majesty's subjects, much less for a corporation of them."

2. A letter of Carr and Maverick‡ to Nichols, of November 20, says Messrs. Symonds and Danforth were appointed to go eastward, and there counteract the proceedings of the royal Commissioners.

18. Maverick at Portsmouth,§ Piscataqua, informs Nichols that he and his associates, on their journey eastward, stopped at Salem on the 11th, where they were "nobly treated" by Capt. Curwin and Mr. Brown, and at Ipswich, where they were similarly treated by Major Dennison and Capt. Appleton.

24. John Davenport writes to John Leverett. Having special reference to the perils which exist in consequence of the collision between our authorities and the King's Commissioners, he expresses his sympathies and opinions as one who heartily believed that the policy of these agents, if permitted free course in New England, would subvert its civil and ecclesiastical liberties. Some of his remarks follow. In view of Leverett's being an Assistant and Major General of the Colony, he says: "The good Lord assist

* Gen. Ct. Rec.

† Brown, MS. Papers.

‡ MS. Danforth Narrative.

§ Ibid.

1665.]

and governe you by his spirit of wisdom, of courage, and of the feare of the Lord in both." He acknowledges a letter* from Lev-
 erett of May 27, and proceeds: "I perceive that the powers of
 darkness, which have prevailed in other parts of the world, are at
 worke here also, to subvert the kingdom of Christ in these ends of
 the earth." He mentions the need of returning "to the first waies
 of reformation here begun." He fears that the half-way covenant,
 recommended by the last Synod, is a sign of declension. Referring
 to the time of Bishop Laud, he thus expresses himself: "I would
 hope, that the onely wise God, who disappointed the council of
 that arch prelate in the raigne of the last King, (whereby our pattent
 was once and againe demanded by the said King, and as often re-
 fused by your General Court, to be returned to England,) would
 also still appeare, in this juncture, by frustrating the present desig-
 ne and making it an abortion, or a mere tryall of the country, whether
 they will stand to their church rights and priviledges, or permit
 them to be invaded and violated by such attempts, which when
 they are tried and found unsuccessful, will cease for the future." His
 words as to the Commissioners, are: "Their claiming power to sit
 authoritatively as a Court for appeales, and that to be managed
 in an arbitrary way, was a manifest laying of a ground worke to
 undermine your whole government established by your Charter. If
 you had consented thereunto, you had plucked downe with your
 owne hands that house, which wisdom had built for you and your
 posterity. For all your Courts would then have signified nothing;
 the sentences of them being liable to be disannulled, upon com-
 plaints to the Commissioners made by delinquents, as appeareth in
 the case of Mr. Thomas Deane, etc., and the execution of the
 justest censure might be hindered and the course of justice obstruct-
 ed, as you have already found in the case of John Porter, Jr." Daven-
 port thinks that the declaration of the General Court, for
 maintaining their Charter rights, was correct. He advises that all
 the proceedings of the Commissioners be carefully collated and sent
 speedily to the King, the Lord Chancellor, etc., and let them know
 "that the whole country (for the generality of them) are much
 aggrieved at these doings, and humbly desire to be resettled in
 their former state, according to their Charter, and that they may
 be freed from those new encroachments."

July 9. The records of Charlestown church† inform us that,
 as brethren Gould and Osborn, with other Anabaptists, had "em-
 bodied themselves in a pretended church way," deacons Lynd
 and Stittson are desired to ask their attendance on public worship
 with them the next Sabbath, and, "at the evening thereof, to stay
 and give an account to the Church of that report." 16. Gould
 states to the Church, that he has nothing more to do with them.

* Hutchinson's Coll. p. 392-6.

† MS. Rec.

Osborn says he had given his reasons for withdrawal from them; they were infant baptism, "our allowing none but such as had humane learning to be in the ministry, and our severe dealing with those of contrary judgment from us." Sister Osborn said she could not "conscientiously attend on ordinances with us." They are again requested to meet with the Church next Lord's day, and give account of their course. 23. They decline such compliance and remark, that their Church will partake of the Lord's supper next Sabbath. 30. Gould, Osborn and his wife are excommunicated "for their impenitency in their schismatical withdrawing from the Church and neglecting to hear the Church."

12. As an indication* of the private feelings with which the Commissioners received communications from our authorities, is an endorsement on one, from the latter to the former, as follows: "An insolent Letter from y^e Massachusetts to His Majesties Commissioners upon the settlement of the Province of Maine with a warrant to the constable of Portsmouth to disturb the same."

During this month,† news arrived that a Dutch fleet, under De Ruyter, was in the West Indies, and he intended to sail for our coast; that the Castle was fitted up to resist his force; but that, driven back by contrary winds, he went to Newfoundland and did great spoil there."

August 1. The General Court agree‡ on an address to the King. They apologize for any offense they may have unintentionally given him in their last petition. On this point, they say: "We confess, that what we then presented, was our fears of what we did then rather foresee than feel. But now, to our grief and great sorrow of heart, we find (and we hope your Majesty in due time will see) that the gentlemen sent hither in the capacity of Commissioners, especially three of them, (for Col. Nichols, we must acknowledge, had not his hand in many things, that are grievous to us, and we think, would not, whereas the Commission seems to import, that without him, no valid act can be done,) who have steered a course so different from, if not contrary to your Majesty's gracious expressions and limitations in your royal letters and instructions. Your poor subjects are threatened with ruin; reproached with the names of rebels; your government, established by Charter, and our privileges, violated and undermined; causeless complaints from Indians received and countenanced, insomuch the very deportment of many of the heathen is changed towards us and our injurious and licentious neighbors animated against us; a notorious malefactor protected from justice; some of your faithful subjects dispossessed of their lands and goods without hearing them speak in their case; the unity of the English Colonies (which is the wall and bulwark

* MS. State Papers. Office, London.

† Clap's Memoirs, p. 19.

‡ Gen. Ct. Rec.

1665.]

under God against the heathen) discountenanced, reproached and undermined; our bounds clipt and shortened; several towns in our Northern borders already (so far as in them lies) taken from us, they declining to hear our just pleas therein." The Court observe, that, though the Commissioners may make strong allegations against them, they hope the King will exercise charity towards them. They go on: "To be placed upon the sandy foundation of a blind obedience unto the arbitrary, absolute, and unlimited power, which these gentlemen would impose upon us, is contrary to your Majesty's gracious expressions and the liberties of Englishmen, so we cannot see reason to submit thereto."

John Leverett and others are empowered by the Court, to visit Norfolk County, Piscataqua, and Isle of Shoals and York, to call before them all disturbers of the peace who had been encouraged to side for the Commissioners. William Hudson is allowed £9 for the entertainment of these gentlemen while in Boston.

3. The First Church* of Boston, still cherishing a hope that Dr. Owen would become their minister, send again for him by Captain Peirce.

20. A warrant† is issued by Richard Russell of Charlestown, to the constable of that place, instructing him to find where the Baptists worship, and require them to attend the allowed worship, but if they refuse, to return their names and residence to the next magistrate.

September 4. These brethren‡ are examined before the Court of Assistants. The article of their faith which said, "Those who gladly receive the Word and are baptized, are saints by calling and fit matter for a visible church," is objected to, and they are bound to appear at the General Court.

October 11. The Legislature convene in the town-house. They, with several Elders, keep the day, having been appointed as one of humiliation. On account of plague in London and many other places of England, the Court order all vessels from that country to ride quarantine. For such a calamity, they set apart November 22 as a day of fasting§ and prayer. They also appoint the 8th of the same month for thanksgiving, because they had comfortable food, the Dutch fleet had been diverted from their coast, and their peace and liberty yet preserved.

"Whereas at the last Court of Assistants, Thomas Gould and his company, sundry of them were openly convicted of a schismatical rending from the communion of the churches here and setting up a publick meeting in opposition to the ordinances of Christ, here publicly exercised, and were solemnly charged not to persist in such pernicious practices. Yet, this notwithstanding, (as this Court

* MS. Records.

† Backus, vol. i. p. 371.
§ Gen. Ct. Rec.

‡ Hull's MS. Diary.

is informed,) they do still persist in contemning the authority here established. It is therefore ordered, that the aforesaid Gould and company be summoned before this Court to give an account of such their irregular practices with their celebrating the Lord's supper by an excommunicated person." A warrant being sent for the accused, they appeared. As they professed "their resolution yet further to proceed in such their irregular practices, thereby as well contemning the authority and laws here established for the maintenance of godliness and honesty, as continuing in the profanation of God's holy ordinances:—This Court do judge meet to declare, that the said Gould and company are no orderly church assembly, and that they stand justly convicted of high presumption against the Lord and his holy appointments, as also the peace of this Government, against which this Court do account themselves bound to God, his Truth and his Churches here planted, to bear their testimony; and do therefore sentence the said Gould, Osborn, Drinker, Turner and George, such as are Freemen, to be disfranchised, and all of them upon conviction before any one magistrate or Court, of their further proceeding herein, to be committed to prison until the General Court shall take further order with them."

A fair perception of the objection made to the Baptists, as ex-communicants, requires that it be understood they were so called, because they were cut off from Charlestown church; not for immoral conduct, but for declining to commune with that body.

Zechariah Rhodes, a Baptist of Rhode Island, being in Court when such a decision was delivered, said openly, that they "had not to do in matters of religion." For this he was committed. Being sent for, he regretted that he had so expressed himself, and was dismissed with an admonition from the Governor.

The principle on which the Legislature dealt with these Baptists, as they had with others previously, was, that they obtained and sustained their Commonwealth, as an assylum only for those of their faith and form in ecclesiastical concerns. Of course, the denominations who differed from them denied the correctness of such ground.

The Legislature "having perused the transactions between them and his Majesty's honorable Commissioners, together with the narrative and improvement thereof thereunto annexed, collected and transmitted to England, approve of the same," and thank the Committee who prepared them.

November 16. As a minister expected to preach the Boston Lecture, did not come, John Wilson preaches extempore from a text read in his family the morning of this day, Jere. xxix. 8: "Neither hearken to your dreams, which you cause to be dreamed." "Whence he gave a seasonable warning unto the people against the dreams, wherewith sundry sorts of opinionists had been endeavoring to seduce them." He must have had particular reference to

1666.]

the prevalent political divisions, to the Quakers, Baptists and Episcopalians, whose views of church order met with the determined resistance of Government. The discourse was taken down in short hand by a person present, and published about twelve years afterwards.

This year, as Hutchinson states,* a few persons of Boston form themselves into an Episcopal Society. They very likely received the encouragement of the royal Commissioners, who had a chaplain with them, and who were earnest for the allowance of such churches.

Though before the current year an impression prevailed in the Christian world,† that the outcasts of Israel were to be gathered together, yet now such an event was more particularly expected. Desirous to give his own views of the subject, Increase Mather delivered a monthly lecture on it in Boston, and presented the negative of it, maintaining that the set time would not yet come. The discourses were published in London, 1669, under the title of "The Mystery of Israel's Salvation." "The renowned Mr. Caryl" said of the publication, "That it was a rare thing to find anywhere a conjunction of so much learning and so much piety, as there was in the author."

1666. January 9. John Eliot writes‡ to Sir Robert Carr: "Pumham and his people have suffered much hard and ill dealings by some English, and there hath been both force and fraud used towards them to drive them out of their lands." He desires that the Commissioners may deal kindly with these Indians. Carr replies on the 28th of February, and says that he had heard of Mr. Eliot's complaining of him for hard treatment of Pumham and his people by ordering them away from Warwick. "I require you to make such improvement of this advertisement, that his Majesty and his Commissioners may be no more rendered obnoxious to the reproach and contempt of infidels, and others his said Majesty's subjects by your and others proceeding." Eliot knew much more and better about this matter than Carr.

February 22. The King dates a communication§ to Massachusetts. He accompanies it with his declaration of war against the French and Dutch. He mentions that it is a favorable opportunity to free themselves from "inquiet neighbours" who belong to those nations. He encourages them to use all their "force and skill" for the capture of their settlements, and particularly Canada. They declared it under 11th of September.

23. Robert Boyle,|| as President of the Missionary Society, writes from Cooper's Hall, London, to Commissioners of the United Colonies. He refers, among his remarks, to the fount of

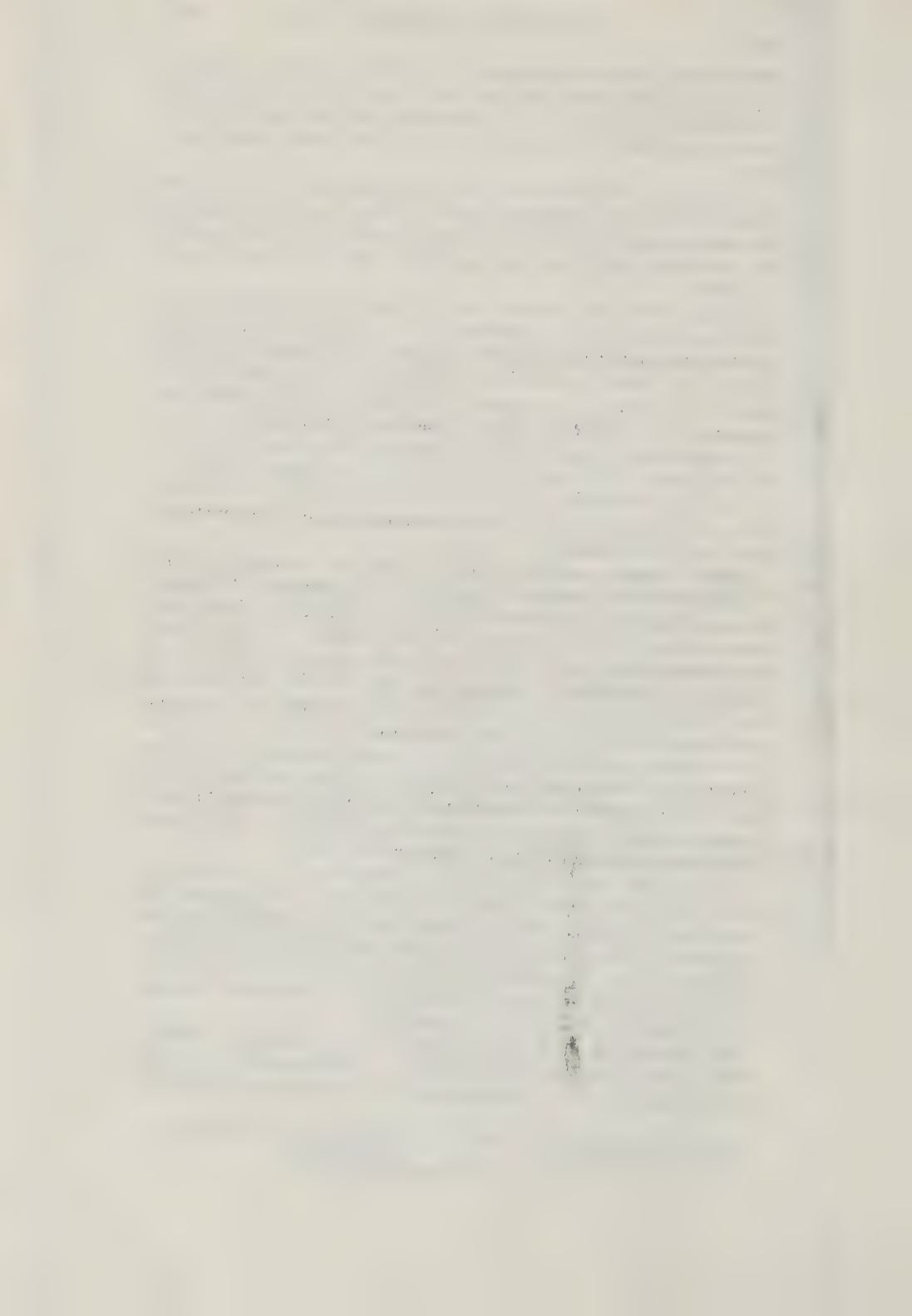
* Hutchinson, 3 ed. vol. i. p. 318, 9.

† Remarkables of I. Mather, p.

‡ Brown's MS. Papers.

§ Gen. Ct. Rec.

|| MS. Papers of Mass. Hist. Soc.



[Mass.

letters, some of which were Greek and Hebrew, sent over by the Society. He speaks of a claim made to them by Mr. Johnson, who selected and brought such types over for them, and which the Commissioners could not account for. Still he expresses a willingness to settle the matters as they please.

April 9. Though Nichols, Governor* of New York, was less disliked by our New England fathers than the other Commissioners from the King, still he did not refrain from expressing himself unfavorably of the Bay authorities. In a communication of his to Lord Arlington, he observed: "His Majesty will read the sophistry of Massachusetts, vntill such time as wee did presse them to a positive obedience, and then they do unmask themselves. I dare not presume† to find out a way to bring down the pride of Massachusetts, because the matter is long since before his Majesty; yet it is evident this place, (N. Y.) with the premises thereunto, relating considered, will withdraw in a short time most of their trade hither, where I have begun to set up a school of better religion and obedience to God and the King." The party, thus censured, could give good reason for their course. Though tried and threatened, they held on their way of obligation to the true and the right.

10. William Morrice, Secretary,‡ writes from London to the Commissioners, that, by the King's command, he orders them to come home. He remarks: "We have expressed our dislike of the conduct of Massachusetts towards you, and have sent our commands for the Governor and others to attend us and answer their proceedings."

The King addresses a letter§ to Massachusetts. He states to them that the relation of his Commissioners showed that they were satisfied with the treatment they received in the other Colonies, but not so with what they experienced in the Bay. He observes that from the representation of the Commissioners, and from that of Massachusetts, he infers that the latter believe the commission of the former "is an apparent violation of their Charter, and tending to the dissolution of it, and that in truth they do, upon the matter, believe that his Majesty hath no jurisdiction over them, but that all persons must acquiesce in their judgments and determinations, how unjust soever, and cannot appeal to his Majesty, which would be a matter of such high consequence as every man discerns where it must end." He therefore recalls the Commissioners, that he may hear from them a more particular account of their mission hither. Further, his "express command and charge is, that the Governor and Council of the Massachusetts do forthwith make choice of four or five persons to attend upon his

* MS. in London State paper office.

† Brown's MS. Papers.

‡ Brown's MS. Papers.

§ Hutchinson, vol. i. App. p. 547, 8.

1666.]

Majesty, whereof Richard Bellingham and Major Hathorne are to be two, both which his Majesty commands upon their allegiance to attend, the other two or three to be such as the Council shall make choice of, and his Majesty expects the appearance of the said persons as soon as they can possibly repair hither, after they have notice of this his Majesty's pleasure." The King says that his purpose in such an arrangement is to hear the advocates of Massachusetts as to their controversy with the Commissioners, and, having the relation of these also, in the case, he "may pass his final judgment and determination thereupon." He orders the authorities here to discharge all persons whom they have imprisoned "for petitioning or applying themselves to his Majesty's Commissioners." He requires that the decisions of these officials as to boundaries of territory, remain until he shall make up his own mind about them.

13. Lord Clarendon addresses* the Commissioners. "I know not what to say of the demeanor of the Massachusetts Colony, only that I am very glad that the other Colonies behave themselves so dutifully, for which they will receive thanks from the King; and what sense his Majesty hath of the behaviour of those of Boston, you will find by the inclosed, whereof I suppose Mr. Secretary Morrice hath sent you the original to be sent to those of Boston, one or two more being sent thither by other conveyances, that they may be sure to have notice; and if they do not give obedience to it, we shall give them cause to repent of it; for his Majesty will not sit down by the affronts which he hath received."

Undoubtedly his Lordship was sincere in his declarations, but his impressions of political and religious obligation differed widely from those of our fathers, who were not to be easily driven from the lot they had chosen, by the threats of disappointed power, even though upon the high places of the kingdom.

17. Thomas Gould, Thomas Osborne and John George, of the Baptist persuasion,† being presented by the Grand Jury to the County Court at Cambridge, "for absenting themselves from the public worship of God on the Lord's days, for one whole year now past, alledged respectively as followeth." They plead, that they had attended on what they considered Scriptural worship for that space of time, being connected with a church, founded in accordance with the gospel. The Court recited the endeavors used by the Court of Assistants last September, and by the General Court the next October, for their conviction. The order of the latter body, declaring that the "said Gould and company to be no orderly church assembly, and that they stand convicted of high presumption against the Lord and his holy appointments, was

* Brown's MS. Papers.

† Backus, vol. i. p. 374.

[Mass.]

openly read to them." The Court fined each of them £4 for the specified neglect of worship. They add: "Whereas by their own confession, they stand convicted of persisting in their schismatical assembling themselves together, to the great dishonor of God and our profession of his holy name, contrary to the act of the General Court of October last, prohibiting them therein on penalty of imprisonment, this Court doth order their giving bond respectively in £20 each of them, for their appearance to answer their contempt, at the next Court of Assistants." The defendants appealed to this Court, but declining the surety required, they were committed to prison.

22. John Farnum* is excommunicated by the Second Church of Boston, for becoming a member of the Baptist church. In 1683, he confessed that he had acted erroneously and sinfully in this matter, and was, therefore, restored to his membership. On July 17, Henry Shrimpton of Boston, brazier,† bequeathes £10 to the Society of Christians, who now meet at Noddle's Island, of whom are Gould and Osborne.

May 23. To restrain drunkenness‡ among Indians, it is ordered that any of the English who know that they have intoxicating drink contrary to law, may take it from them and deliver it to the constables. If Indians be found drunk, and they refuse to confess who supplied them with liquor, they shall be put in prison or house of correction.

As Thomas Gilbert, of Topsfield, had uttered several expressions in his preaching and praying, which were offensive to the Court, they order that he shall be admonished in their presence by the Governor.

It is probable that his offense consisted in severe censure of the King, relative to his Commissioners' course here, because his tombstone epitaph at Charlestown says,§ that he was "the proto-martyr" of ejection from the ministry in England under Charles II.

As in the case of Endicott about cutting the cross from the English colors, public sympathy was with him, though the authorities of the Colony deemed it necessary to notice the act as offensive to his Majesty, lest his displeasure should be multiplied against them. So it may have been in relation to Gilbert.

June 3. About 300 English, of whom was Lt. Col. Theodore Loveraune, speaker, arrive|| in a ship, Capt. Robert Gourden, at Boston. They came from St. Christopher Island, which had been taken by the French. They expected more of their fellow captives to follow them. The Legislature appoint a committee to provide relief for those of them who are necessitous, until a passage be obtained for them so assisted.

* Robbins's Hist. 2d Boston Ch. p. 295, 6.

† Gen. Ct. Rec.

§ Calamy, vol. ii. p. 467.

+ MS. Suffolk Probate Rec.

|| Gen. Ct. Rec.

26. Quakers of Salem* are still fined by the County Court, for absence from public worship, as legally construed.

Josiah and Daniel Southwick and John Blevin, among them, refusing to pay a fine of one pound a-piece, are ordered to be whipped. On August 9, Nicholas Upsball, of Boston, says in his will, "I do give for the use of such servants of the Lord, as are commonly termed Quakers, a lodging room, well furnished, during the life of my wife and daughter."

July 6. Governor Nichols, of New York, † writes to the Governor and Council. He states, that he was informed the King had "authorized and required" them "to reduce Canada." He says that news had reached him, that the French from this quarter were marching in considerable force towards Albany. He advises that cavalry from Massachusetts and Connecticut go against them, and believes that they may be mostly destroyed, and their country taken.

In a letter ‡ of Daniel Gookin, one of the Assistants, we have this passage: "Doctor Owen and some choice ones who intended to come with him in Mr. Pierce are diverted, and that not from hopes of better times there, but from fears of worse here, which some new counsels there acting gave them occasion for, so that in all probability, a new cloud is gathering and a storm preparing for us."

August 15. "Our private meeting § kept at our house a day of humiliation, to shew their sympathy with me, to implore the Lord for his poor people here, to direct vs and our Rulers, etc. And for his poor suffering saints in England."

September 11. The General Court meet to consider the King's command for them to send over five persons, who may answer before him for the refusal to comply with the injunctions of his Commissioners. They agree to spend the forenoon of the next day in prayer for divine guidance. They appoint a Committee to answer the papers, dated the 6th, and presented by Samuel Maverick, one of the Commissioners.

12. The Court assemble with several Elders. Of these who lead in devotional service are Messrs. Wilson, Mather, Symmes, Whiting, Cobbett and Mitchel.

13. The Court convene || with the Elders after Lecture. The latter were invited by the former so to do, that they might give "their advice on weighty matters now in hand."

14. Petitions from twenty-six persons of Boston, thirty-five of Salem, seventy-three of Ipswich, and thirty-nine of Newbury, are presented. These documents are alike in ideas and words. They regret that the Government have offended his Majesty, so that he

* MS. Essex Ct. Rec.

† Hutch. 3d ed. vol. i. p. 207.

‡ Hutchinson's Coll. p. 407, 8.

§ Hull's Diary.

|| Gen. Ct. Rec.

has charged them with maintaining that he has no jurisdiction over the Colony. They contain the following clause: "Your petitioners intreat, that if any occasion hath been given to his Majesty so to resent any former actings, as in his last letter is held forth, that nothing of that nature be further proceeded in, but contrarywise, that application be made to his Majesty by meet persons, immediately to be sent for the end, to clear the transactions of them that govern the Colony from any such construction." They earnestly desire, that such caution may be manifested, so that they may not be under the necessity of making "their particular address to his Majesty and declaration to the world, to clear themselves from the least imputation of so scandalous an evil, as the appearance of disaffection or disloyalty to the person and government of their lawful prince and sovereign would be." They add, "Lest otherwise that which, if duly improved, might have been as a cloud of the latter rain, be turned into that which, in the conclusion, may be found more terrible than the roaring of a lion."

A report of the debate which took place in the Council,* gives the initials of the speakers, who are supposed to be as follow. These will be mentioned, with the chief substance of their opinions. Bellingham proposes, that some regular course be pursued so that the King's offense against him or others, may be brought to a legal issue. Bradstreet thinks, that the King has power to command their appearance before him. Dudley holds, that the royal injunction is applicable in all the English dominions; that the governor can have, if he choose, a trial at law, in England. Willoughby says, that the question should be whether God's displeasure should not be considered as well as the King's; the interest of the Colonists and God's glory, as well as his Majesty's prerogative; if the King can demand their attendance in London at any time, they are miserable indeed. Hathorne maintains, that royal prerogative is not above law. Stoughton observes, that Corporations in England may lose their privileges, but not their government, because the national laws protect them. E—— remarks, that it is hard for two persons, designated by the King, to appear before him, when no definite charges are made against them. Bradstreet states, that merchants are afraid to send their property to England, unless something be done. Dudley suggests, that though the authorities here have a right to execute their laws, the King may accept complaints and require an answer to them.

Mr. Winthrop, of Connecticut, and Sir Thomas Temple, after dinner, propose to the Governor and Magistrates, that there may be a "joint consideration," as to their respective Colonies, of the royal letters to Massachusetts, concerning the invasion of Canada. Temple says, that if Nova Scotia be taken by the French, their vessels

* MS. Gen. Ct. Rec.

1666.]

will infest the Bay. He adds, should "Tracy be settled in Nova Scotia, you will find him the worst neighbour you ever had."

17. A majority of the Court agree on a letter to William Morrice, the King's Secretary.* They acknowledge the royal kindness in giving them information of the war with the French and Dutch, and advising them to prepare for defense. They remark that the declaration of war against the former nation, and sent over to them, "was solemnly published here by sound of trumpet." They state that they had advised with Sir Thomas Temple, governor of Nova Scotia, and with Mr. Winthrop, governor of Connecticut, as to the invasion of Canada, proposed by the King, and concluded their inability to accomplish such an enterprise. They assign the reasons for this result to be the strength of the French there, and the difficulty of marching over "rocky mountains and howling deserts about 400 miles." They observe that they have sent to his Majesty the explanations of their course in non-compliance with the mandates of the Commissioners last year; that they can add nothing to the substance thereof, and that the ablest persons whom they might send to London would be unable to declare their case more fully. This was virtually declining obedience to the royal injunction for persons to be sent from the Colony to England, and there answer the accusations made against them by the Commissioners. The Court close their communication by committing their cause to God, and desiring the King to deal kindly with them.

Bradstreet dissented from the letter, so far as it did not meet the royal order for colonial messengers to appear and answer the charges in London.

With regard to the petitions of Boston, Salem, Ipswich, and Newbury, the Court take the following action: "Finding that the petitioners do therein unjustly charge, threaten and reflect upon this Court, to the dishonour of the members thereof, it is ordered that Captain William Gerrish of Newbury, Captain John Appleton of Ipswich, Mr. Edmund Batter of Salem, and Captain Thomas Savage, Mr. Thomas Brattle, Mr. Habakkuk Glover, and Mr. Thomas Dean, of Boston, all of them principal persons in the said petitions, some of them persons in public trusts, all, save one, freemen of this Colony and members of churches, be by the Secretary warned to attend this Court in October next to answer for the same."

Aware of the difficulty and peril which are involved with their relations to his Majesty, the Court, as a means of diminishing his present and anticipated displeasure, empower the Deputy Governor, Francis Willoughby, to purchase two very large masts, on board Capt. Pierce's ship, for the royal navy. They order an

* Gen. Ct. Rec.

immediate loan of £1,000 to be negotiated for meeting all the charges, among which are those of getting the masts to London. They intend that if "God please that they arrive safe in England, then to be presented to his Majesty as a testimony of loyalty and affection from the country." They choose a committee to carry the resolve into effect, and write to the King that it is made.

18. The Assistants order* that Thomas Gould and Thomas Osborne, Baptists, may be released from prison, if paying their fines and costs, as had been decided. They add that if they meet publicly on the Sabbath to worship, as Baptists, again, for which such sentence was passed on them, they shall give bonds of £20 each to appear and answer for schismatical assembling together on the Lord's day, and shall be banished from the jurisdiction, on penalty of £20 each. They also require that the injunction of the General Court, October, 1665, against the assembling of the Baptists to worship, shall continue in force. The Deputies consent to this result, except the second clause, which includes banishment. But they wish the whole subject may lay over to their next session.

19. Major Daniel Dennison wishes his dissent from the Court's letter to Secretary Morrice to be entered, because he thinks it "not proportionate to the end desired, and he hopes intended, viz., due satisfaction to his Majesty, and the preservation of the peace and liberty of this Colony."

Some of the Elders think† that the two magistrates should obey the royal order for them to appear and answer for the Colony in London. Mr. Mitchel takes an opposite ground, "urging that if two might be sent for, ten might."

October 10. The General Court assemble. They set apart November 8 as Thanksgiving day, for the continuance of their civil and religious privileges; for preservation from invasion by the common enemy, and for sustenance through a drought.

They designate November 20 for a Fast, because of sins, blittings, mildew, drought, grasshoppers, caterpillars, and small-pox, wars and pestilence in England; "the low estate of the true professors of Christian religion in all parts;" and to pray that their liberties may be continued, the country kept from invasion, and the fleet lately sailed have a prosperous voyage.

In addition to the two great masts for the King, the Court appoint a Committee to purchase others and send them to London, accompanied with a suitable letter for him.

Sir Henry Ashurst and other friends of the Colony in England, are impowered to hire £1,000 for the charges of such a present.

12. A Committee of the General Court agree on the mode‡ of procedure with the petitioners from Boston, Salem, Ipswich and Newbury.

* MS. Mass. Gen. Ct. Papers. † Cobbett's Letter. Hutch. 3 ed. vol. i. p. 232.

‡ Gen. Ct. Rec.

That the Court may be pleased to call them to their answer singly, one by one, and that their answers be taken in writing.*

Questions to be proposed, if they own their hands to this petition:

1. Who is the party you intend, that so irresistibly carry on a design of dangerous consequence?

2. What is that design you intend, that is of so dangerous consequence?

3. When will it be seasonable and ripe for you to declare to the world?

4. What is the reason that you reproach the Court with disloyalty?

5. Do you judge it a thing reasonable, or consistent with our political being, for the Court, or any other persons, from time to time, to pass 3,000 miles, leaving their families and callings, upon the complaint of discontented persons, whose estates may not be able to make satisfaction?

6. Either it is the Court, or some other party, that are carrying on a dangerous design; and if it be on this party, why have not you, out of conscience, according to your oath of fidelity, discovered the same? If it be the Court, it shall be considered of.

7. Wherein is it that (in your apprehension) the Court vie with our Prince, or divest him of his sovereignty?

8. Who was the instigator or framer of these petitions, and what arguments were used to draw or fear men to subscribe?

Further, it is proposed that the Court may be pleased to hear all their answers before any answers or sentences be declared; and that some meet person or persons be deputed in behalf of the Court to implead the petitioners; and that, as to so many of them as do ingenuously acknowledge their error, the Court would be pleased to exercise so much moderation as the honor and safety of the Court and country may admit.

The royal Commissioners, having returned from the eastward,† are charged by the General Court with disturbing the public peace, and are desired to hold a conference with them on the subject. "No, not a word need pass," replied Carr; "but remember, the King's pardon of the late rebellion is conditional, and the authors of the opposition among you must expect the punishment awarded the rebels in England, and you well know their fate." Thus occurred another hindrance to intercourse between the King's Commissioners and the General Court.

24. Nichols writes to Secretary Morrice.‡ "The copy of his Majesty's signification to Massachusetts was surreptitiously sent over to them by some unknown hand before the original came to Boston.

* Hutch. MS. vol. ii. p. 257.

† Hutch. 3 ed. vol. i. p. 228, 9.

‡ Brown's MS. Papers.

The Massachusetts Colony persist, or rather fly higher, in contempt of his Majesty's authority. The General Court have resolved to send no man out of the Colony according to his Majesty's summons. Several considerable men, both of the Council and Deputies in the General Court, have entered their protest against the resolution there taken. Most of the considerable merchants and men of estates in the country petitioned the General Court to comply with his Majesty's commands, but they are now to be questioned before another Court as seditious persons. The eyes and observations of all the other Colonies are bent upon this strange deportment of the Massachusetts. His Majesty is wise, and may easily chastise their undutifulness, not by force which might frighten the innocent as well as nocent, but by a temporary embargo upon their trade, till such and such persons are delivered into the hands of justice; the numerous well-affected people in that and other Colonies would soon give up the ringleaders, at his Majesty's disposal."

26. Samuel Nahorth,* in Massachusetts, writes to Secretary Morrice, in London: "The truth is, y^e actings of the late Commissioners, putting spurs too hard to y^e horse's side, before they were got into the saddle," and the oppressive conduct of Lord Willoughby at Barbadoes, "have greatly alarmed the people here, making the name of a Commissioner odious to them."

"It is a great pity that so hopeful a Plantation should be now lost, through the malice of those whose design is to beget a misunderstanding in his Majesty of his people. Their hope is in God, who hath the hearts of Kings in his hand. This I clearly see, that the body of the people have a higher esteem of their liberties, sacred and civil, than of their lives; they well know they are such twins as God and not nature have joined together, and are resolved to bury their estates and liberties in the same grave." If the King frown on Massachusetts, the French will be encouraged. "The French King (as is here reported by some Rochellers) designing to secure these parts of America for himself." The French came from Canada last winter to Fort Albany. It is reported that they are building forts on this side of the great lake, above our plantations. Our frontier settlers are alarmed by such reports.

November 3. Carr, Maverick and Nichols, of the King's Commissioners, send a letter from Fort James at New York, to the General Court of Massachusetts.† They express their thoughts as follow. They supposed that the Court would not fully comply with his Majesty's pleasure. When, however, they understood the petitions from Boston, Salem, Ipswich and Newbury, and the character of the petitioners, they were encouraged to hope that the Court would satisfy the royal commands. But, assured that they

* Brown's MS. Papers, State Paper Office, London. † Hutch. Coll. p. 408-10.

1666.]

had concluded to send neither Governor Bellingham nor Major Hathorne, whom the King commanded to appear before him, nor two or three other individuals, as the royal injunction required; and that they had laid heavy charges against the petitioners, they declare themselves, as Commissioners, bound to protest in the name of his Majesty, against such a course. They state that Massachusetts ought to have received the letter of the King, as authentic, and their failure so to do had blotted their "scutcheon," while the other Colonies had acted differently, to their "joy and satisfaction." They say that his Majesty "will be justly displeased" with their resolution not to comply with his injunction, and that he cannot but approve of the petitioners who, by the laws of England, should not be molested for anything in their petitions. They express their concurrence with these documents, and earnestly solicit the Court to take the whole matter into "most serious consideration," that the King may be honored by the obedience of his subjects and encouraged to favor Massachusetts, to which, as their words are, "we are hearty well-wishers, and will contribute our best endeavors, at all times and in all places, when by your submission to his Majesty, we shall be encouraged to remain."

13. Governor Bellingham* informs Secretary Rawson, that he received, on the 10th, the communication from Carr, Maverick and Nichols. He desires the Secretary to inform Maverick, that the Court had dissolved and sent a letter to Sir William Morrice; and that when the Assistants come together, he will lay the communication of the Commissioners before them.

Danforth relates that there is perilous division among the people. Some assert they will send the Government no money, because they do not obey the royal injunction; and others, that they will also refuse, because the present of masts is sent. A proposal is made to assess a rate for the money. This, it is feared, will raise a tumult among those who are dissatisfied that the Governor and others have not been sent over to his Majesty. Some are anxious lest what the Court have done will hasten the ruin of the Colony, and others, lest if they do more, this will necessarily bring on its destruction. The same writer adds: "Here is man's weakness and extremity. What a favor will it be, if it may be God's opportunity."

About this time, a narrative by the royal Commissioners had been prepared. This paper,† while referring to other parts of New England as well as Massachusetts, shows that the Commissioners cherished strong feelings against the course of this Colony with regard to them. It makes various statements as follow. On the report that his Majesty had sent over to raise £5,000 a year for his own use, "Major Hawthorne made a seditious speech at the

* Hutch. Coll. p. 410.

† MS. Brown Papers. Hutch. Coll. p. 412-25.

head of his company, and the late Governor another at their meeting-house in Boston," without being called to account. The Commissioners were disappointed that the example of submission to the King's instructions by the other Colonies had not "abated the refractoriness of this Colony." The authorities here would allow no appeal to the Commissioners, and declared "by sound of trumpet, that the General Court was the supreme judicatory." They elude his Majesty's desire for the privilege of freemen to be less restricted. They have enacted, that "whoever is 24 years old, a housekeeper, and brings a certificate of his civil life, and another of his being orthodox in matters of faith, and a third of his paying 10/., besides head-money, at a single rate," may apply to the Court, and they may vote whether he shall become a freeman. The Commissioners say that they "examined many townships, and found that scarce three in a hundred pay 10/ at a single rate. He that is a church member, though he be a servant and pay not 2d., may be a freeman. They will not admit any who is not a member of their church to communion, nor their children to baptism. Whoever keeps Christmas day is to pay five pounds." They favored Whalley and Goffe, for whom Daniel Gookin is reported to have brought over their property, and to have managed it for their support. They contend, that so long as they comply with their Charter in paying the Crown one-fifth of all the gold and silver which may be found in their limits, this document secures to them the power to "make laws and execute them, and that they are not obliged to the King, but by civility." "They hope, by writing, to tire the King, Lord Chancellor and Secretaries too. Seven years they can easily spin out by writing, and before that time a change may come, nay, some have dared to say, who knows what the event of this Dutch war will be? This Colony furnished Cromwell with many instruments out of their corporation and their College, and those that have retreated hither since his Majesty's happy return are much respected, and many advanced to be magistrates." They did solicit Cromwell, by one Mr. Winslow, to be declared a "free State, and many times in their laws styling themselves this State, this Commonwealth, and now believe themselves to be so." They say in reference to Boston, "there neither months, days, seasons of the year, churches nor inns are known by their English names." The Commissioners evidently speak of the Indian mission under the influence of strong prejudice. They state that our Rulers convert Indians by hiring them to come and hear sermons, by teaching them not to obey their heathen Sachems, and by appointing rulers among them, over tens, twenties, forties, etc. "At Cambridge, they have a wooden college, and in the yard a Brick Pile of two Bayes* for the Indians, where the

* Bay, space between two beams. Bailey. Brown MS. Papers.

1666.]

Commissioners saw but one; they say they have three or four more at school. It may be feared that this College may afford as many schismatics to the church and the corporation, as many rebels to the King, as formerly they have done, if not timely prevented." These representations of persons adverse to the views and wishes of our fathers, need many grains of allowance in order for them to meet the explanation, which the latter could have rightly given them. They mention the petitioners of Boston, Salem, Ipswich and Newbury with approbation, who say, "It is now with them as it was with the King's party in Cromwell's time, and who are so overawed by the faction, they cannot put it down." They observe of the Colony, "Their way of government is Commonwealth-like; their way of worship is rude and called Congregational; they are zealous in it, for they persecute all other forms."

The supposition previously made, that a chief, though secret purpose for which the King's Commissioners came to New England, was to compass the long-cherished object of bringing this country under subordinate Governors, dependent on royal election, and one general Governor over them, alike dependent for his office, is partly confirmed by the pains which the Commissioners took with Plymouth and Maine, to have them surrender their choice of Governors to his Majesty, as contained in their narrative, whence the preceding extracts are taken.

27. Some of the Quakers in Salem* are still fined for absence from public worship of the allowed congregation. This year, Richard Gardner, of the same town, moved to Nantucket. He married Sarah Shattock, about 1652. She was cut off from the church, 1662, for attaching herself to the Quaker Society, and, as one of them, was often prosecuted. It is supposed that these things induced them to leave Salem.

Here, a cage is ordered to be built from the proceeds of a wreck. In such places of confinement, offenders were exposed to public view on Lecture days.

December 10. The Rev. William Tompson of Braintree, dies, aged sixty-eight. His first wife, Abigail, died while he was on his mission to Virginia. He left another wife, Anna, and children. He was concerned with Richard Mather in writing several books. One of these was published in London, 1644, being a reply to Mr. Charles Herle's arguments against the "Independency of Churches." The *Magnalia* calls him "a very powerful and successful preacher." The darkness which had rested on his mind, for years, was removed prior to his decease. The epitaph on his grave stone, truly says:

"He was a learned, solid, sound divine,
Whose name and fame in both Englands did shine."

This year, Caleb Cheeschaumuck,* an Indian, who had been educated by the Missionary Society in England, and graduated at Harvard the year before, with the hope that he would preach the gospel to his brethren, is called to finish his probation. Of those from among his Tribes who sought for such an honor, he alone succeeded in its attainment. Thus was his own expectation, and that of many friends to the cause of missions, suddenly cut off. The event seemed to confirm the general impression, which must have been made on the public mind, that, however much encouragement had been long given in the direction of turning heathen from their idolatry to the profession of Christianity, yet, in reference to training up ministers of the gospel from among them, the repeated exertion had failed. So much so was this true, that we hear of no more endeavors for such an object by the Commissioners appointed for the New England mission. The deceased was son to a sub-sachem, Cheschaumog, of Holmes's Hole. He left a sister, Ammapoo, noted for her piety, who married an Indian minister, and died at Sanchechantacket, in Edgartown.

PLYMOUTH.

1664. March 1. George Vaughan,† of Marshfield, is fined for neglect of public worship. Robert Harper, for disturbance of the congregations at Barnstable and Sandwich, and his language to Messrs. Walley and Wiswal, is sentenced to be publicly whipped. William Muaz, of Taunton, and Richard Willis, are sentenced to sit in the stocks on some public occasion, for profanity.

April 23. A letter from the King‡ to the Governor and Council of the Colony, is dated. It mentions that Commissioners are to visit them and other Colonies, to ascertain their condition and compromise difficulties which may exist. It promises the continuance of their political and religious privileges.

28. Governor Prince writes§ to the Secretary of Massachusetts about the proposition for a session of the Commissioners of the Union at New Haven, to resist the claim of Capt. Scott to Long Island, because the Colony of New Haven exercised jurisdiction over the east end of said Island. He observes, "It being a case wherein the whole (Confederation) may be deeply concerned." Scott was taken and imprisoned, but the difficulty between him and New Haven was quashed by the Island's being granted to the Duke of York by the King.

* Magnalia, vol. ii. p. 31. E. Mayhew, Ind. Converts.

† Plym. Gen. Ct. Rec.

‡ Morton, 217, 8.

§ Hutch. MS. Papers.

1665.]

June 8. The General Court resolve* to address his Majesty for the confirmation of their Patent; to entertain the Commissioners from England, if coming hither, "in a civil manner, behooful to their condition;" to maintain their right to their present territory; and to inform the Government at Rhode Island of this purpose, and request them to "reclaime such as have thrust in upon us neare to Pochasset or elsewhere."

August 27. New Netherland surrenders† to the royal Commissioners. One of these, Nichols, becoming Governor of the captured territory, has Thomas Willet, sent from Plymouth to attend them in the enterprise, appointed Mayor of the capital, now called New York, in honor of the Duke of York.

November. Morton, in his Memorial, (212 p.) mentions a remarkable comet as making its appearance the 17th, though other authority gives it as the 8th. This luminary continued to be seen here over four months. His words relative to it, follow: "This was looked at by the judicious and conscientious of the land, as a speaking Providence against unthankfulness and licentiousness in drinking and fashions in apparel." It, "with other particulars, occasioned the observation of some days in a way of humiliation before the Lord, somewhat more frequently than ordinary."

1665. February 7. On the request‡ of Richard Bourne, that the Indians instructed by him may be under orderly government, the Court appoint selectmen from among them, who are to advise with Mr. Bourne. He was allowed last year £30 salary out of the mission funds.

18. James Keith is ordained§ over the church at Bridgewater. They had been there about twelve years. The record of his ordination calls him "a student of divinity, having some competent time improved his gifts among them in the work of the ministry, and having also due approbation by testimony of the Rev. Elders of other churches of Christ to whom he was known." He was a native of Scotland, had his education at Aberdeen, arrived at Boston about 1662, and was recommended to his charge by Increase Mather, whom he ever regarded as his good friend and patron. His people allow him twelve acres of land and a house, a right in the township, being one fifty-sixth part of it, and £10 a year, half of it in money and the other in produce. In 1667, they granted him 30 cords of wood annually, "the cutters of the wood to have five groats and the drawers seven groats a cord." In 1681, they added £10 to his salary, payable in corn and provisions. In 1689, they agreed to give him for his wood every year, £10 worth of corn. His wife was Susannah, daughter of Samuel Edson. She died at an advanced age. He married, in 1707, Mary, widow

* Gen. Ct. Rec.
Hazard, vol. ii. p. 490.

† Morton's Memorial, p. 216.
§ Mitchell's Hist. of Bridgewater, p. 43.

‡ Plym. MS. Rec.

of Thomas Williams, of Taunton. He died July 23, 1719, aged 76. He had children, James, Joseph, Samuel, Timothy, John and Josiah, and Margaret Hunt and Mary Howard. He faithfully spent a long life in the service of his Redeemer, and fell asleep to awake in his likeness forever.

22. The Royal Commissioners having reached Plymouth on the 16th, propose the following* to the General Court. That all householders take an oath of allegiance, and that justice be administered in his Majesty's name. That all men of competent estates and civil deportment, "though of different judgments," may be admitted freemen, and capable of holding office, civil and military. That all men and women of orthodox opinions, of fit knowledge and lives, may be admitted to the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper, and have their children baptized. That all laws and expressions in laws "derogatory to his Majesty, if any such have been made in these late troublesome times, may be repealed."

The following, from the Commissioners, probably accompanied the preceding communication. "We desire that when you† send us your assent to the third proposition, you would let it and the other three be fairly written together, so that they may be presented to his Majesty. And that, at the end of them, you would add something to this purpose:—That the Articles of Confederation (when the four Colonies entered into an offensive and defensive league) neither did nor shall oblige you to refuse his Majesty's authority, though any one or all the other three should do so; not that we have the least imagination of your denying your obedience to his Majesty, but that we might stop some foul mouths in America, and that his Majesty may be the more confirmed in his good opinion of your loyalty, who was informed (as we are told) that that union was a combination made by the four Colonies, when they had a design to throw off their dependence on England and for that purpose."

May 2. The General Court give replies to the four propositions of the Commissioners, made by them on the 22d of February.‡ To the first, we have been accustomed to require that every householder take the oath of allegiance, and to administer justice in his Majesty's name. To the second, we have allowed men of competent estate and good character, "though of different judgments" from us, "yet being otherwise orthodox, to be freemen and to choose or be chosen officers, both civil and military." To the third, we count it a high privilege to worship God as our consciences dictate, and should rejoice if all our neighbors, "of orthodox opinions, competent estates, knowledge, civil lives and not scandalous, would adjoin themselves to our societies according to

* Thacher's Hist. of Plymouth, p. 120.

† Mass. Hist. Soc. MS. Papers, and 1 s. vol v. p. 192, 3, of Coll.

‡ Gen. Ct. Rec.

1665.]

the order of the gospel, for the enjoyment of the sacraments to themselves and others ;" but if any of them, so qualified, differ from us in church government, and cannot obtain such a privilege in churches, we would consent to their formation into a society of their own, provided they maintain "an able preaching ministry for carrying on of public Sabbath worship, and withdraw not from paying their due proportion of maintenance to such ministers as are orderly settled in the places where they live, until they have one of their own, and that in such places as are capable of maintaining the worship of God in two distinct congregations." We are encouraged by the King's letter, and the interpretation of it by "your honours, that where places, by reason of paucity and poverty, are incapable of two, it is not intended that such congregations as are already in being, should be rooted out, but their liberties preserved, there being other places to accommodate men of different persuasions in societies by themselves." To the fourth, we agree that if any of our laws or expressions in them, be derogatory to the King, they "shall be repealed, altered and taken off the file." The Court observe that they have no knowledge that the union of the four Colonies was formed to cast off their dependence on England.

June 7. A proposition* having been made by the Royal Commissioners as to the manner of choosing the Governors of the Colony and an address to the King, and "largely agitated by the free-men of the jurisdiction assembled," the Court decide that these "particulars be referred to future consideration." As the Legislature feel themselves unable to send an agent over to England for soliciting his Majesty to confirm the bounds of their Patent, as set by his Commissioners, they conclude that these gentlemen "be solicited to improve their best interest" for such an object.

The General Court,† in reference to the question concerning the continuance of the confederation of the United Colonies, "have ordered that a loveing, curteous letter be directed to the Government of Massachusetts Colony, therein declaring, that we see not light to persist on therein ; and that yet notwithstanding that if upon further information and consideration of any return from them or otherwise, we shall see cause to send to another meeting in reference unto a more civil and orderly breaking off, that we so do."

Careful of the moral as well as religious character of the Colony, the Legislature write to the clerk of iron works at Taunton, that he request the proprietors to have better iron manufactured there, because great complaint was made that it was of an inferior quality, "that so the country be no more wronged on that behalf."

* Gen. Ct. Rec.

† Hazard, vol. ii. p. 502, 3.

NOTE.—June 7, 1665. Philip, who is to put influences in motion, threatening the ruin of New England, had desired the General Court of Plymouth, that he might buy a horse in their Colony. They present one to him, used by the trumpeter of the troop, "as judging it meetter than to give him liberty to buy one."

August 3. Plymouth* send a letter to Massachusetts. They say in it: "We find not our reason seated in sufficient light to continue Confederation with three Colonies, as we did with four." This subject came before the Commissioners at their next session.

October 3. As the King's Commissioners requested, the Court grant two hundred acres of land to Lieut. Peregrine White, for being "the first of the English born in these parts." On June 3, 1662, he with other persons, who had their births in an early period of the Colony, had a similar donation.

11. It is ordered by the General Court, that persons who stay without the meeting-house in time of divine service, "misdemeaning themselves by jesting, sleeping or the like," shall be admonished by the constable, and, if this be not effectual, shall be put in the stocks, and in case they are not reclaimed by such punishment, their names shall be returned to the Court. As it was a law that no "liquors" should be sold to Indians, the Legislature authorize any person to seize such drink in the possession of these people and retain them, until the matter is duly examined.

November 19. George Shove, a native of Dorchester, is ordained at Taunton, as successor to Mr. Street, who moved to New Haven, August 12, 1664. He married Hopestill Newman, July 12, of the last year.

Samuel, one of the Christian Indians, is admitted an inhabitant of Rehoboth.

1666. February 6. Mr. Samuel Arnold,† minister of Marshfield, complained of William Thomas, on the 2d of December, for charging him, in teaching the catechism, with horrible doctrine, because he said that Christ as God, was equal to the Father, but as Mediator, the Father was greater than He. The Court disapprove of Mr. Thomas's course, and advise him to walk more soberly and receive the truth in the love thereof. They decide that Mr. Arnold "hath asserted an orthodox truth."

March 5. Thomas Starr and Jonathan Barnes‡ are each fined 40/., and Abraham Hedge 20/., for Mr. Anthony Thacher, because of "their abusive carriage towards him at his house."

April 10. The King writes§ to the Colony through Mr. Morrice, a Secretary of State. He expresses his approbation of their carriage towards his Commissioners. In this connection he mentions "the refractoriness" of Massachusetts. He promises his favor to Plymouth.

13. The people of Rehoboth|| vote, that Mr. Myles lecture for them "once a fortnight on the week day, once on the Sabbath day." They admit Mr. Symmes, who had preached for them several years, to be an inhabitant among them.

* Gen. Ct. Rec. † Ibid. ‡ Ibid. § Hutch. Hist. 3 ed. vol. 1, p. 365, 6.
|| Baylies, vol. ii. p. 212, 6.

1666.]

May 23. The same town agree "that a third man alone for the work of the ministry should be forthwith looked for, and such an one as may preach to the satisfaction of the whole, if it be the will of God for the settling of peace amongst us, according as the former and renewed Council sent us from our honored Governor and Assistants." "Richard Bullock declared his protest against this act, as judging it the sole work of the church."

Mr. Myles is admitted an inhabitant of Rehoboth. The difficulty, signified by the above record, was very probably, in part or altogether, owing to the preference of some for Myles, a Baptist, and of others for Symmes, a Pedobaptist.

June 5. As a majority of the military company* at Scituate, contrary to the protest of "many sober and discreet persons" among them, had elected James Cudworth as their commander, who had been disfranchised as a supporter of the Quakers and a writer against the rulers, these nullify such a choice, and appoint Serjeant John Damman to take charge of the soldiers. At the same time, the Court observe to this body: "We do expect that you do peaceably and readily attend the same until we may otherwise provide for you."

7. The selectmen† of towns are required to notice all persons who come to dwell among them without leave from the Governor and two assistants, and advise them to obtain such permission. If those who are so advised refuse compliance, they are to be prosecuted and tried for their offense.

The Court, perceiving great neglect of public worship, order the selectmen to call individuals thus delinquent to an account, and, if not satisfied, to return their names to them.

July. About the middle of this month,‡ the following persons meet at Mashippaug or Marshpee: Thomas Prince, the Governor, Thomas Southworth, Thomas Cushman, Rev. Messrs. John Eliot, Sen., John Eliot, Jr., Samuel Arnold, John Holmes, William Brimsmead. They come together at the desire of Richard Bourne, minister of Sandwich. He wished for them to examine some of the Indians, whom he had taught under the direction of the Missionary Society in England, with reference to their union in church fellowship. The result of their examination was, that a written account of their discourse with the Indian candidates should be laid before the adjacent churches; and, if these did not object, such candidates may become a church. Morton remarks that he "notices these passages in regard that they are the first fruits of the jurisdiction of New Plymouth, that have come on to so good perfection in this kind."

October 31. As William Nicarson, sen., of Mannamoiett,§ had,

* Gen. Ct. Rec.

† Ibid. Plymouth Laws, p. 150.

‡ Morton's Memorial, 1721 ed. p. 224, 5. Mather's Mag. b. iii. p. 199.

§ Gen. Ct. Rec.

in a letter to Richard Nichols, Governor of New York, "scandalously reproached the Court of New Plymouth, and the freemen of this jurisdiction," the Legislature order Nicarson to give bonds for his appearance to answer for such an offense, and also that his sons-in-law, Robert Eldred, Nathaniel Couell, and Trustrum Hedges, who were privy to his conduct in this concern, and consented to it, should become similarly obligated. This matter was up at several sessions of the Legislature, who felt themselves obligated to notice it, though they were desirous to handle it leniently. At last, on October 30, 1667, for the letter mentioned of April 2, 1666, and another of February 23, 1667, to Nichols from Nicarson, they fine the latter £10, and Eldred and Couell each, £5 as his abettors. The Court remark that they might justly amerce them in a greater sum, but for their apparent regret, and Colonel Nichols's intercession for them, they set the amount very low.

November. Near this time, the narrative by the royal Commissioners gives the following facts relative to Plymouth. These Commissioners proposed to the General Court that they would get them a charter, free of charge, if they would allow the King to choose a governor for them every three or five years, from any three candidates whom the Court may send to him. But the proposition being feared as a lure to the relinquishment of Puritan privileges, was not accepted.

While so intent on destroying the liberties of any colony belonging to the confederation of New England, the Commissioners could no more veraciously assert that they intended no injury, than the besiegers of Troy could that their purpose was harmless, when they introduced, as poetically represented, the wooden horse, full of armed men, into that desolated city.

The narrative further relates: "They are so poor that they are not able to maintain scholars to their ministers, but are necessitated to make use of a gifted brother in some places."

December 10. The inhabitants* of Rehoboth vote, "that Mr. Buckley should continue still amongst us till the first of April upon further trial, in reference to the former vote of August 13, 1666, which is in order to the settlement in the ministry, if he be approved of."

About this and the two preceding years, Plymouth Church obtained James Williams, an able gospel preacher,† and had hopes at his first coming, of his continuance with them; but he soon left them and went to England. Afterwards, William Brimsmead preached several months for them, and settled in Marlborough, Massachusetts. During the vacancy of ministers, Elder Robert Cushman, assisted by some of the brethren, carried on the worship.

* Baylies, vol. ii. p. 213.

† Cotton's Plymouth Church. Mass. Hist. Coll. 1 s. vol. iv. p. 122.

1664.]

MAINE.

1664. March 12. As a means of disturbing the political and ecclesiastical relations of a large portion of Maine,* and bringing them more under the influence of Romanism, James, the Duke of York, a strenuous Papist, receives a Charter from his brother, Charles II.; which includes the territory from St. Croix to Pemaquid, a tract granted to William Alexander, Earl of Sterling. One main object of the policy which promoted such a change, was probably to diminish the Puritan influence of Massachusetts and Plymouth in Maine.

June 11. The King writes to the people of Maine,† claimed by the heir of Sir Ferdinando Gorges, and orders them as follows: "That you forthwith make restitution of the said Province unto him or his Commissioners, and deliver him or them the peaceable possession thereof." Thus the favorers of the national church here, have high authority to revive its forms amongst themselves and neighbors. To see that this change is effected, John Archdale came with the royal Commissioners, as the agent for the Gorges claim.‡

Joseph Emerson,§ who preached at York, 1648, freeman, 1653, perhaps son of Thomas Emerson, living at Ipswich in 1639 to 1660, is settled at Wells. He continued here to about 1667. He became the first pastor of the church at Mendon, where he remained till the place was broken up by Philip's Indians in 1675. He married Elizabeth, daughter of Rev. Edward Bulkeley, in 1665, and left three sons. From Mendon he went to Concord, and died January 3, 1680. His widow married Capt. John Brown, of Reading. He labored for souls in troublesome times. But it was a consolation to him, that the Arbiter of all rewards according to faithfulness, and not outward circumstances.

1665. May 3. The General Court|| of Massachusetts, amid a warm controversy with the royal Commissioners, take thought for Maine, which these agents and friends to the claim of Gorges, wish to be taken from their jurisdiction. With a strong array of authoritative power in England, against their retention of such territory, the Legislature still determine to hold it until further and sufficient order to the contrary. They mention the distracted condition of Yorkshire, declare their jurisdiction over it, and call on its inhabitants to comply with their obligation accordingly. They require

* Mass. Hist. Coll. 1 s. vol. vi. p. 186, 7.

† Dudley's MS. Narrative. Williamson, vol. i. p. 412.

‡ Willis's Portland, vol. i. p. 100.

§ Whitney's County of Worcester, p. 56. Worcester Magazine, vol. ii. p. 373.
Greenleaf's Sketches, p. 20. || Mass. Gen. Ct. Rec.

the County Court to proceed, under their authority, as usual, and order that if Edward Rishworth, the Recorder, neglect to serve, Peter Ware, of York, take his place. They intend to inform the people there, of the reason why they had not yet given up the territory claimed by Ferdinando Gorges, and they appoint Ezekiel Knight, of Wells, as a magistrate.

June 11. The Council of the Bay, in reply to a letter from John Archdale and others, in behalf of Ferdinando Gorges, for the surrender of Maine, declare that this Province is within the patent of Massachusetts, and forbid the people there to obey the Commissioners of Gorges.

12. A communication* bears the following endorsement. "An insolent letter from y^e Massachusetts to his Majestie's Commissioners upon settlement of the Province of Maine, with a warrant to the constable of Portsmouth to disturb the same."

23. The royal Commissioners† having passed to Maine about the middle of this month, assemble the people of Kittery and assured them that it was perilous for them to continue under Massachusetts, who were rebels and traitors, whose conduct would be soon laid before the King, and whose doom was easily foreseen. They presented a petition to his Majesty for a new Government. This received signers of various characters and conditions.

At York they appoint‡ Justices of the Peace, and constitute them a Court "to order all the affairs of the Province for the peace and defense thereof, according to the laws of England, till the appointment of another government by the Crown." Their order for this says, "In his Majesty's name we require all the inhabitants of said Province, to yield obedience to the said Justices, and forbid as well the Commissioners of Mr. Gorges, as the Corporation of Massachusetts Bay, to molest any of the inhabitants of this Province, till his Majesty's pleasure be known."

July 2. Carr orders Capt. John Davis and his Company to appear armed, "Tuesday morning next," to prevent the session of a Court, to which two Assistants were coming from Boston. When these persons reached Piscataqua,§ and were informed of such intended resistance, they proceeded no further, but returned home.

At a July term of the Court|| instituted by the King's Commissioners, It is required that every town provide a pair of stocks, and a cage and ducking stool, by the next Court. Of course, these instruments of punishment were for moral delinquents. At the November Court, Kittery, York, Isle of Shoals, Wells, Cape Porpus, Saco, Black Point, Falmouth, Westcustogo and Kennebeck, were fined each 40/. for not providing such instruments. John Jocelyn is presented for neglect of public worship on the Sabbath.

* MS. at London State Paper Office.

† MS. York Rec.

‡ Mass. Gen. Ct. Rec. Williamson, vol. i. p. 416, 7.

§ Williamson, vol. ii. p. 217.

|| Willis's Portland, vol. i. p. 117, 8.

1666.]

August 1. George Cleaves and twenty-one more signed a petition* to the King. They were of Lygonia, and opposed to the Government instituted by the royal Commissioners and Archdale, the agent of Gorges.

In assigning reasons why they preferred to be under Massachusetts, they use the subsequent language: "Against whom we have nothing to say, but have by good experience found that expression of your Majesty verified concerning them, that whereas they have exceeded others in piety and sobriety, so God hath blessed them above others, so we having had piety so countenanced, and justice so well executed, that we have found God's blessing in our lawful callings and endeavors more in one year, than in several before or since our late troubles."

The people of Maine, thus required by three different and conflicting parties to comply with their authority, must have been in a very unsettled and perplexed situation.

After spending more than two months† in Maine, chiefly at York, Scarborough and Falmouth, to bring the Province under their influence, the King's Commissioners depart for Sagadahock, which had been granted to the Duke of York. Though Nichols, of New York, was the Duke's Deputy, yet they order affairs as they please, probably with his consent.

September 5. They open a Court. They have the territory made a County by the name of Cornwall. They summon the inhabitants to appear and submit to his Majesty. Part of them did, and took the oath of allegiance.

October 10. On their way‡ to hold a session of the Yorkshire Court, Messrs. Danforth, Lusher and Leverett, are stopped at Piscataqua, by a severe letter from Carr, who peremptorily commanded them to desist and go back. They concluded that it would not be best to contend, and they therefore returned. The Commissioners soon after went to the Bay, and were called to an account there by the authorities, but they refused to comply.

1666. April 10. The King, in his letter§ to Massachusetts, says "his further command is that there may be no alterations with reference to the government of the province of Maine, till his Majesty hath heard what is alledged on all sides, but that the same continue as his Majesty's Commissioners have left the same, until his Majesty shall further determine."

July 26. A Court at Casco|| make the following orders, to be executed within this town. The selectmen and constable are required to have an oversight of children and servants, and, if disobedient to their parents, master or overseers, to correct them as they shall deem best. George Munjoy is authorized to marry

* Hutchinson's Coll. p. 396, 8.

† Sullivan. Williamson, vol. i. p. 420.

‡ Williamson, vol. i. p. 426.

§ Hutchinson, 3 ed. vol. i. p. 466, 7.

|| Willis's Portland, part i. p. 118, 9.

persons; to see that all weights and measures agree with the Winchester standard; and if found false, to have them destroyed.

The Court enact that the laws against swearers, drinkers, and Sabbath-breakers of the Province, including such as fail to attend public worship, shall be enforced, and also the prohibition of selling liquors to the Indians, shall be carried into effect. They decide that the last Thursday of July "shall be set apart by all the inhabitants residing within the Province, to humble and afflict their souls before the Lord."

November. About this time a copy of the narrative* by the King's Commissioners gives several particulars. It relates that Mr. Jordan, as previously stated, had been imprisoned and severely used by the authorities of the Bay for baptizing children in the Episcopal form. The Commissioners took the people from Massachusetts and placed them under the protection of the Crown. "The inhabitants afterwards petitioned his Majesty that they might always continue under his immediate government, and that Sir Robert Carr might continue their governor, which petition was lost at sea."

The part acted by the Commissioners demonstrated that the most which they wanted was power to have entirely nullified the authority of Massachusetts.

Seth Fletcher is employed by Biddeford† for their minister. He is supposed to have continued to preach for them until 1675, when they were forced to flee by incursions of Indians. One who subscribed himself S. Fletcher, wrote to Increase Mather, March 25, 1681, from Elizabethtown, N. J. The subject of this notice preached at Wells, 1656, and was invited by his friends to continue there, 1661, and is supposed to have been son to William Fletcher, of Saco or Biddeford. He married Mary, daughter of Major Bryan Pendleton, and left an only son Pendleton. Where or when he finished his career of vicissitudes, it is all well with him if he continued steadfast in the faith and service of Christ.

NEW HAMPSHIRE.

1664. The comparatively few persons of New Hampshire, who wished to be free from the Jurisdiction of Massachusetts, have increasing confidence after the arrival of the King's Commissioners, that they shall be gratified. They want a change not so much from principle as from a desire for novelty.

July 23. Two of these Commissioners,‡ Cartwright and Nichols,

* Hutchinson's Coll. p. 412-25. † See this vol. p. 173, 249, 50. Mather papers. Biddeford Rec. Greenleaf's Sketches, p. 53. ‡ Hutch. 3 ed. vol. i. p. 211.

1665.]

being arrived at Boston, the other two, Carr and Maverick, arrived about the same date at Piscataqua. While here, the speech and action of the last individual, were such as to produce a general fear that he and his associates had come to do their own will, more than to conform with the laws of the land.

1665. June. After their rupture with the authorities of Massachusetts, the royal Commissioners went Eastward. On their way thither they stopped at the sea-ports, and consulted with the inhabitants who sympathized with them. In this Colony,* they took the testimony of John Wheelwright and Henry Jocelyn about its former boundaries.

Maverick, writing from Portsmouth to Col. Nichols, uses the following language:† “We summoned the inhabitants of Dover, Exeter and other towns, to attend us at this place to hear his Majesty’s letter read, and although they were commanded by the Massachusetts not to give any obedience to our summons, and also forbid by such officers as they sent hither, not to appear, at their peril, yet the people came in generally from all parts and showed us great respect.”

Eliakim Wardwell, of Hampton,‡ for adherence to his practice, as a Quaker, is whipped fifteen stripes. His neighbors, John Hussey and wife Rebecca, a young couple, were fined for refusal to attend public worship.

October 10. Carr, one of the royal Commissioners,§ writes from Kittery to John Leverett, and desires that he, as one of the Magistrates appointed to hold Courts here, would cease to oppose the persons of Portsmouth, Dover and Exeter, who had signed petitions to the King, desiring a release from Massachusetts.

The same Commissioner, having had the inhabitants of Portsmouth assembled, declares, in the name of himself and associates, that their subjection to the Bay ceases, whose jurisdiction, as they declare, extends no further than the bound-house.

These messengers from the throne then appoint justices of peace and other officers, with power to rule according to their own and other laws, which harmonize with those of England, until they hear from the King.

John Leverett and others,|| who attended to the judicial affairs of New Hampshire, by the authority of Massachusetts, report the following facts. They were ordered to repair to this quarter on the 5th of October. They were informed that a petition had been shown to the royal Commissioners, from individuals of Portsmouth, Dover, Hampton and Exeter, complaining against the rulers of the Bay. They collected the people of Dover on the 10th, to ascertain

* Farmer’s Ed. of Belknap’s N. II. p. 60. † Brown’s MS. Papers.

‡ Besse, vol. ii. p. 236.

§ Hutchinson’s Coll. p. 399.

|| Mass. Gen. Ct. Rec. Farmer’s Ed. of Belknap, p. 60, 1.

their feelings on this subject, who immediately protested against the petition, and named Abraham Corbet as its principal champion. When Leverett and others, at Portsmouth, sent a warrant for the apprehension of Corbet, Carr ordered them to have it countermanded. On the 9th, Dover and Portsmouth freemen addressed memorials to the Legislature of Massachusetts, and disclaimed having put or let in the Corbet document. On the 19th, Samuel Dudley, minister at Exeter, deposed that he had no knowledge of any, who belonged to this town, who had signed such a paper.

11. The Bay Authorities issue warrants for the marshals of Dover and Portsmouth to arrest Corbet, charged with tumultuous and seditious practices, and bring him to Boston for trial.

Carr, at Kittery, writes Leverett and others, at Portsmouth, from Boston, and desires them not to molest those of the second town, here named, and also of Dover and Exeter, who had petitioned the King for release from the Bay Jurisdiction.

1666. May 23. The rulers of the Bay sentence Abraham Corbet, for sedition and keeping a public house of ill repute, to pay £25, including costs, to be disfranchised at their pleasure, and give bond in £100 for his peaceable behavior. They appoint a Committee to fortify Portsmouth.

November. A copy of the narrative by the King's Commissioners,* gives the following: "Difference of opinion made a division among them, and a few, who were for Congregational Churches, did petition for their assistance." This representation, though it may have been thought true by its authors, did not accord with the real disposition of the people described.

RHODE ISLAND.

1664. March 1. "Whereas the Court† have taken notice of the great blessing of God on the good endeavors of Capt. John Cranston, of Newport, both in physic and chirurgery, to the great comfort of such as have had occasion to improve his skill and practice," they style him Doctor in these two branches, and commission him to practice therein throughout the Colony.

As John Smith, of Warwick, had died by March 1, 1664, Randall Houldon, of the same town, is appointed to succeed him as an assistant.

The General Court meet under their new Charter. As Chalmers, in his Political Annals,‡ informs us, they passed the follow-

* Hutch. Coll. p. 422.

† R. I. Col. Rec.

‡ A work of the first credibility as to its facts, so far as based on the MS. documents of the Plantation Office, in London, whence he derived the knowledge of the above legislative transactions.

1661.]

ing: "That no freeman shall be imprisoned or deprived of his freehold, or condemned, but by the judgment of his peers, or the law of the Colony; that no tax shall be imposed or required of the Colonists, but by the act of the General Assembly; that all men of competent estates, and of civil conversations, *Roman Catholics only excepted*, shall be admitted freemen, or may choose or be chosen colonial officers." Though some writers have zealously endeavored to show that the clause excepting Catholics, could not have been contained in the acts passed by the Court at this session, yet their arguments are far from being conclusive. There is reason to believe that Chalmers is correct. The argument, that such an exception cannot be found on the Colony records shows conclusively that it never could have been there, is not tenable when we look at the following facts, relative to these records. 1649, March. A special General Assembly was holden at Warwick; "there is no record however of their proceeding." 1654, August. Ordered, that Mr. Holliman and Mr. Green, Jr., "are to view the general laws of the Colony, and present to the next Court of Commissioners what they may either find defective, or any way jarring, either marking the margin or writing out such, and are to be satisfied for their pains." 1656, March 17. As there were transactions in Mr. Coddington against him, which "stood in our book of record,"—"this Court not thinking it fit to meddle with it, ordered that it should be cut out of our book, which was (done), and then delivered to Mr. Coddington." 1664. The General Assembly order, that several of their former laws, "inconsistent with and contradictory to the form of the present government, be declared null and void." 1666, October 31. They "order, that Mr. John Clark is deputed and authorized to compose all the laws of the Colony into a good method and form, *leaving out* what may be superfluous, and *adding* what may appear unto him necessary, as well for the regulation of Courts as otherwise." Chalmers and other English authorities charged the Assembly of Rhode Island with irregularly laying aside such of their laws as they did not like. The former made this as one of the reasons why their Charter should be taken from them in 1686. The proof, adduced against the exception, because Roger Williams was opposed to it, is not true. In his letter of 1664, to Endicott, about the trial of Clark at Boston, in 1651, he says: "I am far from glancing the least countenance on the consciences of Papists."

The position that such a restriction on Catholics would have been opposed to the laws of England, is a mistake. These laws, when the Charter of Rhode Island was granted, excluded Popish recusants from civil and religious privileges.

The printed digest of this Colony's laws in 1719, 1731, 1744 and 1767, successively contained the exception, which was formally

1893917

repealed at the session of February, 1783. That such an article could never have passed the Legislature of Rhode Island and still have been so particularly re-acknowledged and repeated by them, as a part of their Commonwealth jurisprudence, from the year of its enactment to the peace of their national Independence, would be one of the strangest contradictions in human legislation, and so very strange, that there is no principle of sound reason in denying that the Popish exception was duly enacted and entitled to its periodical acknowledgments by the authorities and people of the State, until constitutionally laid aside.

May 4. Block Island is incorporated,* and its inhabitants allowed the charter privilege of not being called in question for any difference in religious opinion, so long as they do not disturb the civil peace. James Sands and Joseph Kent, of this place, being freemen, petition that others of their townsmen may be alike constituted. They were asked if such persons "were men of peaceable and good behavior, and likely to prove worthy and helpful members in the Colony," and they replied in the affirmative. "Whereupon they were admitted."

June 7. Mr. Clark returned,† after having served the people of the Island for twelve years in England. Honesty, faithfulness and ability characterized all the trusts which he engaged to sustain.

September 7. Benedict Arnold and William Brenton‡ invite the King's Commissioners to this Colony. They remark that his Majesty had named it Rhode Island.

9. The Commissioners of the Union,§ in compliance with the royal letter of June 20, 1663, sent to the different Colonies, again desire Rhode Island to restrain their men, who molest the inhabitants of Narraganset territory, claimed by the latter Colony as well as the former. They say such conduct "is very dishonorable to God, and may give advantage to the heathen and prove dangerous to the peace of the King's subjects here."

October 26. Each town is ordered|| to have a sufficient pair of stocks, or a cage, for the punishment of offenders.

December 12. Warwick, while writing about Mr. Clark, having recompense for obtaining the new Charter, say that he publicly exercised his ministry in London, which, they doubted not, "brought him good means for his maintenance."

1665. February 3. A letter is directed from the Government to Col. Nichols.¶ They speak gratefully of the King's favor towards their people, and of his enabling them to stand against influences, in their "civil and religious concerns," which have troubled them as proceeding from "neighbour colonies, and particularly from Massachusetts."

* Rec. of R. I. † Backus' Hist. vol. i. p. 394. ‡ Brown's MS. Papers.
§ Hazard, vol. ii. p. 499. || Records of R. I. ¶ Ibid.

1665.]

March 4. Samuel Gorton, John Wickes, Randall Holden, and John Greene, lay a petition before the King's Commissioners,* in behalf of themselves and others of Warwick. The document contains a relation of grievances, which its authors believed they had received from Massachusetts. It repeats the story which had been often told to ears easily inclined to hear the Bay authorities, charged with persecution and refusal of appeal to the Crown. It finds the Commissioners by no means averse to its appearance, and requests them to deal out justice and equity. The General Court of Massachusetts, at their session the next May, assign reasons to these gentlemen for their treatment of the Gortonists.

11. Mrs. Tacy Hubbard, of Newport,† begins to profess the principles of the Seventh-day Baptists, in conformity with the views of Mr. Stephen Mumford, who came hither from London, at the beginning of this year. Her example was followed by Samuel Hubbard, her husband, Roger Bastar, Nicholas Wild and wife, the next month; by William Hiscox and Rachel Langworthy, the succeeding year; by John Solmon and wife, in 1668. Wild and his wife held their new persuasion but a little while, and so it was with Solmon and his wife. The remaining five continued to cherish it, though still members of Mr. Clark's church, but not communicants, because greatly dissatisfied with the change of the four seceders from their opinion. Some of them sent a letter of Oct. 6, 1665, to Seventh-day Baptists of England, and more forwarded another of July 3, 1669, to Bell-Lane church of London. They carried on other similar correspondence.

13. Several propositions are drawn up by the King's Commissioners, intended for other colonies as well as that of Rhode Island. One of them, as to taking oaths, was of difficult practice with many of the people, because it had been common among them from the beginning, to make engagements only as to official faithfulness. They now agree that this shall be required of all Colonial officers, on "the penalty of perjury."

20. While these Commissioners are in Rhode Island, Thomas Mumford, Samuel Wilbare, John Porter, William Brenton, Benedict Arnold, and Samuel Wilson, are professed Episcopalians.

April 8. The Royal Commissioners at Warwick grant protection to John Porter, Jr., who had fled to them after breaking from imprisonment in Boston, where he was confined on the charge of grossly maltreating his parents. By such developments of the manner in which they intended to carry out their instructions, the Commissioners evidently showed that they felt themselves authorized to summon and try any of the Colonial Courts before them. Thus they soon came in serious collision with Massachusetts, who refused to allow such supremacy over them.

* Mass. Gen. Ct. Rec. Danforth's MS. Narrative.

† MS. of First Baptist Church of Newport.

May 3. The Governor and Company date an address* to his Majesty. They ask his protection, the continuance of their Charter, and that the Narragansett country may be added to their jurisdiction. They speak of being oppressed by the adjacent Colonies, and the need of having their boundaries more definitely established. They close by saying that if they can so have his favor, they shall be able to serve him by "protecting and directing the Indians here living, instructing their children in learning and civil education, as also in putting this Colony in a posture of defense, promoting of trade, husbandry and fishing, and governing ourselves in peace and justice."

They also date an address to the Earl of Clarendon, Lord High Chancellor. Before mentioning their specific desires, they request him to accept a farm of their territory, about one thousand acres, as a token of their gratitude for his past kindness in their behalf. They then state, that they send him reasons for the addition of the Narragansett territory to their soil, and having the line fixed between them and Plymouth Colony. They further express their wishes for help to erect fortifications, and for aid from an estate in England, given to the Society for Propagating the Gospel among the Indians here, to found a school for the education of such natives in their jurisdiction.

These documents were forwarded by Col. Cartwright, one of the Royal Commissioners, but were taken with him and all other papers in his hands by the Dutch, and were entirely lost. In September of the next year a Committee were chosen to renew and forward them to England.

Horod Long represents, that on the death of her father, she was sent to London by her mother; here she was privately married to John Hicks, under St. Paul's church; soon after came to New England, when between thirteen and fourteen years old, lived two and a half years at Weymouth, then came to Rhode Island and lived about twenty years at Newport, "till I came to Pettescomscott." Soon after this, her husband left her. The authorities ordered the property of her mother to remain with her, but he carried off the most of it to the Dutch. Her mother and brother are dead, and she has no friends, and is poor. She and George Gardner went before Robert Stanton and his wife, and stated to them, that they took each other as man and wife, but were never married in the usual manner. The Assembly fine Gardner and her £20 each. To prevent such loose matches, they confirm the law of 1647, and other similar acts.

On complaint of Margaret Porter, that her husband, John Porter, had left her destitute and dependent on her children, and that he had property enough to maintain himself and her comfortably, the

* Mass. Hist. Soc. Coll. 2 s. vol. vii. p. 98, 101-4.

1665.]

Assembly forbid any persons to purchase estate from him until he has made fit provision for her support. He was released on the 27th of June, by the Assembly, because he had obeyed their order.

13. The Commissioners' propositions are laid by the Governor before the General Assembly, who act in relation to them, as follows: They express their thankfulness to the King for such communications of his pleasure. They state that, as their Charter allows persons of "tender consciences" to "engage, under penalty of false swearing," instead of taking an oath, such individuals shall be allowed the same privilege in promising allegiance to the King. They order, that if any refuse to make an engagement of this kind, they shall not "vote for publick officers or deputies, or enjoy any privileges of freemen." They say, as to the third particular, that it had been and was a principle with them "to preserve the same liberty to all persons within this Colony, forever, as to the worship of God therein." They state, as to the fourth, that whatever laws had been passed, offensive to the King, were made void. They then passed an act for putting the Colony in a state of defense.

15. In presence of the Assembly, an answer of the Royal Commissioners, dated March 13, to the paper of William Coddington, dated at Newport on the 9th of the same month, with the five proposals of the said Commissioners, are communicated to Coddington, Nicholas Easton, and "those concerned, called Quakers," for "their consideration to mind and obey accordingly."

26. A letter from George Cartwright in Boston,* to Gorton, shows his strong prejudice against the Massachusetts rulers. "These gentlemen of Boston would make us believe that they verily think, that the King hath given them so much power in their Charter to do unjustly, that he reserved none for himself to call them to an account for doing so. In short, they refuse to let us hear complaints against them; so that, at present, we can do nothing in your behalf. But I hope shortly to go for England, where, (if God bless me thither,) I shall truly represent your sufferings and your loyalty."

This year, as Brinley informs us, the Government enact† that, as the Quakers will not bear arms, they shall be outlawed and their estates seized; but the people at large would not allow this to be done.

Misquamicut is bought of Indians, and a part of the Baptist church in Newport settle there.‡ It was afterwards called West-erly. Callender relates that among these emigrants was John Crandal, a preacher, and that they subsequently became Seventh-day Baptists.

December. In a transcript of their narrative,§ the King's Com-

* Chalmers' Pol. Annals, p. 198, 7.

† Mass. Hist. Coll. 1 s. vol. v. p. 219.

‡ Callender's Discourse, p. 93, 119.

§ Hutch. Coll. p. 413-6.

missioners make the subsequent remarks of this Colony. "They allow liberty of conscience and worship to all who live civilly." They now admit "all religions, even Quakers and Generalists." There is a dislike between them and the other Colonies. "In this Colony is the greatest number of Indians who have not been under missionary instruction. They have not any places set apart for the worship of God; there being so many subdivided sects, they cannot agree to meet together in one place, but according to their several judgments, they sometimes associate in one house, sometimes in another."

One of the Narraganset princes, named Pessicus, desired them to petition King Charles that "no strong liquors might be brought into that country, for he had thirty-two men who died by drinking of it."

28. Cheesechamut, the eldest son of Pumham, agrees* for his father and himself to quit forever Warwick Neck and "the King's Province," immediately on the receipt of £10 more in wampum, from Warwick, in addition to £30 already received from them in like currency. This contract was made at Smith's Trading house. But Pumham still considers himself and subjects hardly dealt with, and therefore delays to sanction his son's contract.

On the 9th of January, 1666, John Eliot* addresses Carr in behalf of Pumham. "It is his Majesty's pleasure to command us to deal well with the poor Indians, and hath sent yourselves, his honorable Commissioners, to promote the same, which I hope your own generous mind and disposition will incline you exemplarily to perform. Pumham and his people have suffered much hard and ill dealings by some English; and there hath been both force and fraud used towards them, to drive them or deceive them out of their lands. They are in no wise willing to part with that little which they still hold." On the 24th of February, Carr commands Pumham and his people to move within a week, at his "utmost peril." On the 28th, Carr replies to Eliot. He states that he and the rest of the Commissioners understand what is due to the Indians. "I require you to make such improvement of this advertisement that his Majesty and his Commissioners may be no more rendered obnoxious to the reproach and contempt of infidels and others by your and others interposing wherein you and they are

* December, 1665. The Sachems of Narraganset or King's Province "did thankfully receive two coats presented to them in his Majesty's name. In acknowledgment of their subjection, they are to pay yearly, upon the 29th of May, two wolf-skins to his Majesty, and did now send two caps of peage, and two clubs inlaid with peage for a present to the King, and a feather mantle and a porcupine bag for a present to the Queen, which were all taken by the Dutch."—*Brown's MSS.*

The Commissioners say that "this Colony has two scattered towns upon Rhode Island, two upon the main land, and four small villages."—*Ibid.*

† Record of R. I.

1666.]

not concerned, as though we were not able to order the King's affairs in these parts, without your advice and direction." On April 9, Carr notifies Lord Arlington of the transactions about Pumham, and that this chief and his subjects had removed from his territory.

1666. March 1. Roger Williams writes a long letter* to Carr, and warns him that a large number of Indians had formed a confederacy to assist Pumham, and that his person was not safe among them. He states that Massachusetts had consented that if Pumham, their ally, and Williams, could agree upon terms for relinquishing the chief's territory, they would ratify them. He remarks: "Although I know another claim laid to this land, yet Pumham, being the ancient possessor of this Lordship, I humbly query whether it be just to dispossess him, not only without consent, which fear may extort, but without some satisfying consideration." He then says, "Your honour will never effect by force, a safe and lasting conclusion, until you first have reduced the Massachusetts to the obedience of his Majesty, and then these appendants (towed at their stern) will easily (and not before) wind about also." "The business as circumstanced will not be effected without bloodshed. There be old grudges betwixt our men of Warwick and them."

27. The General Assembly,† in view of the "long agitation about the engagement, enacted May last, that is thought too hard on the conscience by many, order and declare, that such as are free in their consciences so to do," may take the engagement prescribed the May preceeding, or if they prefer, the oath of allegiance, as required in England. "But if any profess there are some words in either, which in conscience they cannot consent to say or use," and will promise, in open Court or before two magistrates, according to a former law, allegiance and submission to the King, and to obey the laws made by virtue of his authority, they shall be allowed the privileges of freemen.

April 10. The King highly approves of the manner in which Rhode Island had treated his Commissioners. Renewing his opportunity to rebuke the State, who, from their requisite position as the constant defenders of Charter liberties, he observes:‡ "Your carriage seems to be set off with the more lustre by the contrary deportment of the Colony of the Massachusetts, as if by their refractoriness, they had designed to recommend and heighten the merits of your compliance with our directions for the peaceable and good government of our good subjects in those parts." However his Majesty may have thought that he was rendering just applause to Rhode Island, and these may have judged that it was right for them to welcome such favor, still, had not Massachusetts refused the Commissioners the power which they claimed, the civil

* Brown's MSS.

† R. I. State Papers.

‡ Brown's MSS.

and religious privileges of all New England would sooner have fallen into the hands of a general governor than they did, always a favorite purpose with the royal Court.

May 2. The General Assembly order, that if William Blackstone* is further molested by some of Plymouth Colony as to his land, and it fail to be under the jurisdiction of Rhode Island, they will grant him legal justice. This subject was brought up October 29, 1668.

August 4. Mrs. Ruth Burdick, of Baptists at Westerly, writes† to her father, Samuel Hubbard, an eminent member of the same denomination at Newport: "My longing desire is to hear from you, how your hearts are borne up above these troubles, which are come upon us and are coming as we fear, for we have the rumors of war, and that almost every day. Even now we have heard from your island by some Indians, who declared unto us that the French have done some mischief upon the coast, and we have heard that twelve hundred Frenchmen have joined with the Mohawks to clear the land both of English and of Indians. But I trust in the Lord, that he will not suffer such a thing to be. Dear father and mother, the Lord hath been pleased to give us here many sweet and comfortable days of refreshing, which is great cause of thankfulness, and my desire is that we may highly prize it, and you with us give the Lord praise for his benefit."

September 4. The Assembly order,‡ that the Colony become responsible for £140 and interest, to Capt. Richard Dean, of England, which Rev. John Clark hired towards his expenses, while there obtaining the last Charter, and for which his house and land at Newport had been mortgaged, and was liable to be seized and forfeited.

As one indication that Quaker principles increase, the General Court state that there is so much neglect of military affairs, it "is like to be an occasion of ruin of the military exercise throughout the whole Colony, if not timely prevented." They accordingly appoint men in each town to use the needed and pertinent authority.

Governor William Brenton and Deputy Gov. Nicholas Eaton, John Card and John Clark, are appointed by the Assembly to draw up an address for the King. This was done by John Clark. It prayed that his Majesty would grant to them his Province or the Narragansett Country, as essential to their convenience and prosperity. It says, that if he would grant their request, they should be encouraged to proceed in propagating plantations of that which lieth waste, and "by God's help and your Majesty's gracious favour, shall be able to serve your Majesty in protecting and directing the Indians here living, and instructing their children in learning and civil education."

* Rec. of R. I. † Potter's Narragansetts, p. 117, 8.

‡ Rec. of R. I.

1661.]

Another address is prepared, probably by Mr. Clark, for the Earl of Clarendon.* It repeats the offer of a farm containing one thousand acres for him, as an expression of gratitude to him. It observes: "Now it so falls that a present seeming cloud passing over our Colony doth eclipse the splendor of our Charter, and render us in sort uncapable of disposing aught, in the far greater part of his Royal Majesty's grant—and of our absolute clear purchase from the Indians. But believing there is no intent, but that all will be restored to its full and clear extent unto us, in which we humbly implore your Lordship's favour, to be our helper and protector." It petitions him renewedly to advance the application of an estate, bequeathed in England to evangelize the Indians of New England, so that it may be used for such a purpose among these natives, who live within the bounds of Rhode Island and Providence Plantation.

November 14. William Harris writes to Richard Dean, of England, who had lent money to Rev. John Clark, while there in service for the Colony. He speaks very severely of Roger Williams's conduct towards him, and seems to think himself right in the charge.

This year, Thomas Burnyeate, a Quaker from England, visits Providence† and holds a meeting there.

CONNECTICUT.

1664. January 7. The General Court of New Haven assemble.‡ They consider the request of Connecticut for them to suspend prosecution of persons who refused to pay taxes, under the plea of having submitted to the authority of the Colony who propose such suspension. But the Court, believing that Connecticut had extended their jurisdiction over their limits more in the power of a new charter than any real claim of equity, decline to treat with them. They draw up a long and intelligent remonstrance against this interference.

March 10. As the royal instructions§ for the admission of freemen had been thought by some to lessen the requirements of Connecticut for such a purpose, and thereby "trouble is like to ensue," their Legislature "order that only such as have been or shall be orderly admitted," shall exercise the privileges of freemen in the choice of deputies, magistrates, deputy governors and governors. The Court approve of the course adopted by Windsor, "in seeking

* Records of R. I. etc.

† Trumbull, vol. i. p. 275.

‡ Staples' Providence, p. 421.

§ Gen. Ct. Records.

out for a supply in the ministry, Mr. Warham growing ancient, and do order all persons in the said plantation to allow their proportion towards the competent maintenance of such a supply in the ministry."

They issue an order for the apprehension of John Scott, who had claimed authority over the places on Long Island which were under their government. They charge him with sedition and gross profanation of the Sabbath.

April 2. The Governor and Council at Hartford,* "upon the motion of the townsmen of Wickford," appoint men to be commissioners of Court for them and their neighbors, and empower them to elect other officers for their own government. They also desire them, that they "would be careful seasonably to provide an able, orthodox minister, to dispense the Word of God to them, and if God please to incline Mr. Brewster to come amongst them, it is desired he might have all due encouragement." They order that "the officers of the place respectively take due care to suppress sin and profaneness, and encourage piety according to their best skill."

23. A communication† from the King is addressed to Connecticut. It introduces his Commissioners to them. It says: "We need not tell you how careful we are of your liberties and privileges, whether ecclesiastical or civil, which we will not suffer to be violated." It states that the business of these agents was to settle difficulties among the Colonies, "and especially that the natives, who are willing to live peaceably with our English subjects, may receive justice and civil treatment from them, as may make them more in love with their religion and manners."

28. By a letter‡ from the Governor of Plymouth, the authorities of New Haven wished for the Commissioners of the Union to interpose and assist them to recover the jurisdiction of the east end of Long Island, which had been seized by John Scott. This person was imprisoned by order of New Haven, but the controversy between him and them was soon closed by the Island's being included in the grant to the Duke of York.

Clarendon, in a letter§ to Governor Winthrop, recommends that the royal Commissioners be assisted in examining the various questions which may come before them from the several Colonies.

May 6. The Duke and Duchess of Hamilton petition|| the King for the restoration of territory granted to his father, Marquis Hamilton, eleventh year of Charles I., beginning at the mouth of Connecticut river, and called the County of New Cambridge. This document is referred to the royal Commissioners for New England.

12. The Legislature of Connecticut claim¶ Long Island as

* Gen. Ct. Rec. † Trumbull, vol. i. p. 556, 7. ‡ Hutch. Papers, p. 384, 5.
§ Hinman's Antiquities, p. 51, 2. || Trumbull, vol. i. p. 557. ¶ Gen. Ct. Rec.

1661.]

included in their Charter. They appoint a committee to proceed thither and "settle matters that the people may be civilly, peaceably and religiously governed, so as they may win the heathen to the knowledge of our Lord and Saviour, Jesus Christ, by their sober and religious conversation."

18. Joseph Eliot, of Guilford, dates a letter to his brother, Benjamin Eliot, of Roxbury, as an answer to the question, "How to live in this world so as to live in heaven." Among his remarks is this: "I have lived to see a need of everything God gives me, and to need nothing that he denies me. As to the state of the times, it is very gloomy and tempestuous."

The writer of this was son of the Apostle to the Indians. He was born December 20, 1638, and graduated at Harvard, 1658. He was called from Northampton* to succeed Mr. Mather, whose health had failed, December 23, 1662, at Guilford. The Society here agreed to grant him a settlement of £80, and pay him a salary of £60, and build him a house.

The Legislature† of Massachusetts earnestly advise New Haven, as the Commissioners of the Union had, to settle their difficulties with Connecticut, and be united with them under one government. This advice was probably given as a means of strengthening the Colonial Confederation, so that it could better stand the expected influences and movements of the royal Commissioners, and retard the King's appointment of a general governor for New England, as they had long feared, especially at particular periods.

25. The General Court of New Haven assemble.‡ They elect the officers of their government, but they have no record made of the usual transactions on such occasions. An omission of this kind may have been to have their acts secret, if they passed any, as a means of not uselessly increasing their troubles from the determined encroachments of Connecticut on their soil and population, or to keep them unpublished till they ascertain whether, as advised by Massachusetts, it would be better for them to unite with Connecticut.

September 13. At a meeting of the Commissioners§ of the Union, those of Connecticut object to the allowance of those from New Haven, as a distinct Colony, but those of Massachusetts and Plymouth see no sufficient ground for such an objection. The Commissioners of Connecticut are empowered to agree with John Maynor "about teaching the Indians in those parts to read, and especially the Pequots."

25. John Winthrop writes to Mr. Boyle.|| He states that he had seen Dr. Sackville at "Gravesant," on the west end of Long

* Dwight's Travels, vol. i. p. 345.

† Mass. Gen. Ct. Rec.

‡ Trumbull, vol. i. 277.

§ Hazard, vol. ii. p. 500.

|| Birch's Life of Boyle, p. 145-7.

Island, recommended to him, for a short time, when he went to witness the surrender of Manhatoes and the fort to his Majesty. On his return, he intended to meet with the Commissioners at Hartford, but was taken sick with a fever at New Haven, and could not proceed. He was informed that Mr. Boyle had asked them to inform him "how a great stock might be employed for the furthering that good work among the Indians." He requests "that your honor would please to cause that paper which I left with the corporation in England to be reviewed. I suppose it doth give an hint of a foundation of an useful employ of a large stock, even to those good ends, the corporation principally aim at."

October 13. At their session* under this date, the Legislature of Connecticut, to propitiate the royal Commissioners, grant them five hundred bushels of corn.

They designate a committee to go and require the inhabitants of New Haven, Milford, Branford, Guilford, and Stamford to come under their jurisdiction, and admit all, in these towns, legally qualified as freemen, who desire the privilege. Such a step was more congenial with the feelings of leading men in Connecticut than with those of such in New Haven, because the former had admitted persons to be freemen without being church members, even before the royal letter, which commanded it, while the latter Colony, like Massachusetts, practiced in the opposite direction. The Court also invest the Governor, Deputy, and Council of New Haven with magistratical power to govern such towns, if they will accept the trust; and if any of them decline, others are to be appointed in their stead. This was a direct advance upon New Haven Colony in its distinct independence of Connecticut, and an increase of the former's dissatisfaction with the disposition and action of the latter in so very important a concern.

The Court informed,† that some of the Colonists "are agrieved that they are not interteined in Church fellowship, haueing duely considered the same, desireing that the rules of Christ may be attended, doe commend it to the ministers and churches in this Colony to consider whether it be not their duty to enterteine all such persons, whoe are of an honest and godly conuersation, haueing a competency of knowledg in the principles of religion, and shall desire to joyne with them in Church fellowship, by an explicitt couenant, and that they haue their children baptized, and that all the children of the church be accepted and accounted reall members of the church, and that the church exercise a due Christian care and watch ouer them; and that when they are growne up, being examined by the officer in presence of the church, it appeares, in the judgment of charity, they are duely qualified to participate in that

* Gen. Ct. Rec.

† Trumbull, vol. i. p. 327.

1664.]

great ordinance of the Lord's Supper, by their being able to examine themselves and discern the Lord's body, such persons be admitted to full communion.

"The Court desires y^t the severall officers of y^e respectue churches, would be pleased to consider whether it be not the duty of the Court to order the churches to practice according to the premises, if they doe not practice without such an order. If any dissent from the contents of this writing, they are desired to help the Court with such light, as is with them, the next session of this Assembly. The Court orders the Secretary to send a copy of this writing to the severall ministers and churches in this Colony."

Thus the Connecticut authorities show their full consent with the decision of the Synod, as to the half-way Covenant, while those of New Haven and their churches are opposed to it, as a dangerous innovation.

The ministers and churches* who did not fall in with the Connecticut Legislature in this respect, were not only called to contend against the decision of the Synod, but, also, to counteract the individuals of their congregations, who favored the half-way covenant. Thus the introduction of this new form among the churches was both difficult and slow in progress. Some of them never suffered it among their ordinances. They feared it would subvert, so far as allowed, the very design for which the Puritan churches were founded in New England. Though the churches of Connecticut so differed as to the judgment of the Synod, still they agreed for a considerable period, in the carefulness of their discipline. They were strict in the conditions of admitting members to full communion. They permitted none to have their children baptized, unless they professed repentance and faith in Christ, and exhibited regular deportment of life. They made it a rule, that when a candidate for the ministry was ordained, he should be closely examined in the three learned languages and the doctrines of grace; in their acquaintance with cases of conscience and ability to defend the Christian religion against infidels and its other opponents, but also, in their heartfelt experience of piety. Every preacher, before set apart to the ministry over any church, satisfied the members of it, that he was a true follower of Christ, and was admitted to their communion and fellowship. Neither churches could be formed, nor have ministers set over them, without leave from the General Court and neighboring ministers and churches.

17. William Pitkin, Michael Humphrey, John Stedman, James Enno, Robert Reeve, John Moses and Jonas Westover, Episcopalians, petition† the General Assembly of Connecticut to pass a law tolerating their form of worship. They also request that they may be free from paying for the support of any minister, who refuses to

* Trumbull, vol. i. p. 327, 8.

† Gen. Ct. Rec.

baptize their children, and take care of them as members of his church.

November 30. The King's Commissioners decide* that the towns of Long Island which had been under the jurisdiction of New Haven and Connecticut, shall be under the government of the Duke of York, though Connecticut laid reasons before them why it should be to the contrary; and that the bounds of this Colony should include the Colony of New Haven. Thus the latter Plantation, whose civil and ecclesiastical polity accorded more with that of the Bay, than of Connecticut, and was less acceptable to the royal Commissioners than that of the last Colony, have the warrant issued for the cessation of their independent existence. Such a change was more the result of political design than of righteous demand. It showed that his Majesty's Commissioners were ready to blot out one Colony of the Confederation, though against the earnest desires and solemn declarations of its chief men, expressed to the authorities of Connecticut.

December 14. New Haven, having their lot so assigned, address† a letter to Connecticut. It states that "the generality of our undivided people" met the day before, and agreed, "if it shall appear to our Committee, that we are, by his Majesty's authority, now put under Connecticut Patent, we shall submit, by a necessity brought upon us, by the means of Connecticut aforesaid; but with a *salvo jure* of our former rights and claims, as a people, who have not yet been heard in point of plea." It says, that they expect equitable treatment, relative to all their interests, under such a new modification of their civil affairs. It adds: "You thus performing to satisfaction and according to profession, by a studious and cordial endeavour with us to advance the interest of Christ in this wilderness, and by the Lord's blessing thereupon, love and union between us may be greatly confirmed."

21. Connecticut reply to New Haven, and express their readiness to act in harmony with them for the best good of the whole.

Lambert, speaking of the College at New Haven, observes:‡ "The convulsions of the times in 1664, and the want of adequate support caused this College to terminate in a public grammar school, which is yet preserved, and is now kept on the corner of Temple and Crown streets."

Massachusetts were not in favor of establishing the Hopkins College, because they supposed that Harvard was sufficient for all New England, and that to encourage the former was to break down both. Hence the subject of such an institution rested till the formation of Yale.

1665. January 5. James Bishop, on a Committee of the New

* Hinman's Antiquities, p. 54, 5. Trumbull, vol. i. p. 558, 9.

† Trumbull, vol. i. p. 559-61.

‡ Lambert's Hist. of N. Haven, p. 63.

1665.]

Haven Legislature, writes* to Connecticut, "having seen the copy of his Majesty's Commissioners' determination, (deciding the bounds betwixt his highness, the Duke of York, and Connecticut charter,) we do declare submission thereunto, according to the true intent of our vote." Thus the union between these two Colonies is virtually formed, though not finally consummated till the General Election in May. In the mean while, the authorities of New Haven continued to administer its laws. It appears from Mr. Bishop's remarks, that the Commonwealth which he represented, however thus consenting, remained dissatisfied with Connecticut, because they would not make a particular contract, as to the principles of their coming together. He says: "We scope not at reflections, but conviction and conscience satisfaction, that so brethren in the fellowship of the Gospel might come to a cordial and regular closure, and so to walk together in love and peace, to advance Christ his interest among them, which is all our design. But how those high and holy ends are like so to be promoted between us, without a treaty for accommodation, we have cause to doubt."

March 19. The half-way covenant† is laid aside in the church of Windsor‡ till 21st of June, 1668, when it was revived under Mr. Chauncy.

25. As the royal Commissioners requested Connecticut to show cause why the petition of the Duke and Duchess of Hamilton for their territory, granted to the Marquis of Hamilton in 1631, should not be allowed, they comply. They state‡ that such land, conveyed by regal authority to Lord Say and others, of whom they bought it, had been lately confirmed to them by the King; that they had conquered it from savages intent on the destruction of his subjects, and that they have had peaceable possession of it for thirty years, which gives them a title. They desire the Commissioners to use their influence so that his Majesty will silence the Hamilton claim, and will make New London a free port for seven, ten, or twelve years. They ask them to represent to his Majesty, that they readily acknowledge "his abundant grace in re-ratifying their privileges, both civil and ecclesiastical; their compliance with his pleasure and their Christian moderation to men of different persuasions."

April 20. The General Court of Connecticut assemble. The royal Commissioners lay four propositions§ before them, as they had before the other Legislatures of New England, which the latter answer in course.

1. "That all householders inhabiting this Colony take the oath of allegiance, and that the administration of justice be in his Majesty's name."

* Trumbull, vol. i. p. 562, 3.

† Hinman's Antiquities, p. 58-62.

‡ Puritan Recorder, April 4, 1850.

§ Ibid. p. 643. Gen. Ct. Rec.

2. "That all men of competent estates and of civil conversation, though of different judgments, may be admitted to be freemen, and have liberty to choose or to be chosen officers, both military and civil." The Court answer, that they conform with these requisitions.

3. "That all persons of civil lives may freely enjoy the liberty of their consciences, and the worship of God in that way which they think best, provided that this liberty tend not to the disturbance of the public, nor to the hindrance of the maintenance of ministers regularly chosen in each respective parish or township."

The Court reply,* "We know not of any one, that hath been troubled by us for attending his conscience, provided he hath not disturbed the public."

4. If any laws or expressions in them be "derogatory to his Majesty," let them be repealed. Answer, none such are known.

The Legislature "declare, that all former actings, that have past by the former power at New Haven, so far as they have concerned this Colony, (while they stood as a distinct Colony,) though they in their own nature have seemed uncomfortable to us, yet they are hereby buried in perpetual oblivion, never to be called to account."

They approve of the exertion made by the people of Middletown to form a church, and desire them to proceed according to the Gospel, and ask advice from the adjacent elders and churches.

May 11. The freemen of New Haven and Connecticut meet in Hartford,† and unite in giving their votes for one governor, deputy and magistrates. A proportionate number of the last, belonged to the late Colony of New Haven. All the towns of the two territories had deputies present.

Trumbull, though considering the union of the two Colonies better for each, on the whole, observes, "After all, it will be difficult, if not impossible, to reconcile some parts of it, at least, with their pre-engagements, the rules of justice, and brotherly affection."

A Committee are appointed to settle difficulties at the villages of Hastings and Rye, which the Court constitute one Plantation by the name of the latter. Messrs. Sherman and John Allyn are desired to visit New Haven, Branford, Guilford and Milford, and "administer the freeman's oath to all those that were formerly freemen, or to as many of them as will accept of it, and to as many others, as by sufficient evidence they judge qualified according to law, and to take the names of such as are sworn in a list in each town." Greenwich is allowed to be a township, "provided they procure and maintain an orthodox minister," and until they do this, "they are to attend the ministry at Stamford, and contribute proportionably with them to the maintenance of the ministry there."

June 24. John Davenport, in a letter to John Leverett, justifies‡

* Hinman's Antiquities, p. 63, 4. Gen. Ct. Rec.

† Gen. Ct. Rec.

‡ Hutchinson Coll. p. 395. Lambert's New Haven, p. 172, 3.

1666.]

the course pursued by Massachusetts in relation to the King's Commissioners. His language shows that he is still opposed to the union, recently taken place. "You see whither my zeal for preserving Christ's interest in your parts, (though in New Haven Colony it is miserably lost,) hath carried me."

October 12. The Court agree to encourage* the settlers of Paugasuck, afterwards Derby, to be a Plantation, if a sufficient number of them appear before next October, and "engage to maintain an orthodox minister among them, that they may be in a capable way to enjoy the ordinances of God, and civil order amongst themselves." "Southertown is named Mistick in memory of that victory God was pleased to give this people of Connecticut over the Pequod Indians."

Adam Blackman,† minister of Stratford, died 1665, at the age of sixty-seven years. There were persons of his surname, who survived him, living in the same town, and seem to have been his descendants. Cotton Mather remarked of him as follows: "It was his opinion, that as for our bodies, thus for our spirits also, simple food is the best. Accordingly he studied plain preaching, which was entertained by his people with a profitable hearing. Our Hooker, for the sacred and solid simplicity in the discourses of this worthy man, would say, If I might have my choice, I would choose to live and die under Mr. Blackman's ministry."

Israel Chauncy,‡ son of the President, Harvard Coll., 1661, is a preacher of Stratford. Their agreement for his salary was dated December 18, 1666. On October 10, of the next year, the Legislature require the inhabitants to pay this to him proportionably till there be another minister of the town. On October 7, 1669, he is named among their Freemen. On the 14th, the General Court allow them to divide the lands for the ministry so that part may be for Mr. Chauncy and the other for Mr. Walker. He is appointed minister of the army, October 14, 1675, who are to march under Robert Treat, and to be a member of the Council of War. The Council of the Colony dispatch, March 7, 1676, a message for him to meet them at Hartford, and impress men, horses and accommodations, so that he may quickly comply with their order. On the 27th, his wife and child are so dangerously sick, that he has leave to return home. He died March 14, 1703, aged 59, highly esteemed as a patriot and a Christian. He left two sons to follow his example. Cotton Mather pronounced him "a rich blessing to the Colony of Connecticut."

1666. February 22. King Charles orders a letter§ to Connecticut, with his declaration of war against France. "In former letters

* Gen. Ct. Rec. † Magnalia, vol. i. p. 358, 9. Trumbull, vol. i. p. 523.

‡ Magnalia, vol. i. p. 428. Trumbull, vol. i. p. 523.

§ Hinman's Antiquities, p. 56, 7.

we have directed you to put yourselves in the best way of defense you could against the assaults of the French and Dutch in those parts, and for the securing the coming of all ships hither. The time offers itself more favourably now than ever of delivering yourselves from those unquiet neighbors. We have thought fit to write this unto you, to authorize you to apply yourselves with all your force and skill to the reducing to our obedience all Islands and Plantations in those parts belonging to the French or Dutch Nation, and especially that of Canada. That Sir Thomas Temple, our Governor of Nova Scotia, may the better correspond with you and be assistant therein, we have required him thereunto. Herewith sending you our declaration of the war with France, which you are to publish in the manner you shall think fit."

May. This month, a Company of Milford, Branford, New Haven and Guilford, purchase from Indians a tract of land on the Passaic River, in New Jersey, for a settlement, called Newark. A part of its first inhabitants immediately moved thither. Of them were Mr. Pierson and most of his church and congregation from Branford, which remained almost spiritually desolate for over twenty years. On the 30th day of October, they adopt the law of their mother Colony, which prohibited any person from being a freeman, unless a member of a Congregational church. As this implies, they carried with them their dislike to the half-way covenant. Such dislike was cherished by the ministers and churches of New Haven Colony, continuing behind, and was a prominent objection to their union with Connecticut, who had generally adopted this innovation.

June 1. At a town meeting held by the inhabitants of Wethersfield, they vote,* that a letter be sent to Mr. Gershom Bulkley, at New London, desiring him to "come and be helpful to us and settle among us in the work of the ministry, if God shall incline his heart thereto." Mr. Bulkley accepted the invitation and was installed, as Trumbull informs us, in the year they desired him to assume such a relation.

7. Nathaniel Chauncy, son of the President, H. C. 1661, a Fellow here, had been a member of the Ipswich Church several years. Rev. Messrs. Wilson, Richard Mather and Jonathan Mitchell write to Mr. Warham, respecting him. This appears to have been connected with Mr. Chauncy's introduction to the ministry at Windsor. On the 14th October, next year, a majority of votes are cast there for his settlement. On October 8, 1668, he was nominated among candidates there for freeman. Under the like date of month and day, two years afterwards, he was preaching in the same place, amid the adverse influences of zealous contention among his people. He succeeded Hope Atherton, who died min-

* Historical Magazine, vol. i. p. 250. Trumbull, vol. i. p. 519.

1666.]

ister of Hatfield, June, 1679. He paid the same indispensable debt of nature himself, November 3, 1688. He left children, who honored their parentage.

John, son of Rev. John Woodbridge,* who preached at Andover, in England, and at Newbury; Harvard College, 1664; is similarly employed at Killingworth. On May 18, 1668, the Legislature consent to a petition as follows; he may stay as "a lecturer there, and if the church and Mr. Warham shall so far condescend for peace as to give liberty for Mr. Woodbridge to preach once a fortnight on the Sabbath, as well as on the week day, until some further time be obtained to improve some other way as an expedient for the peace of Windsor, it shall be acceptable to this Court." The next year, Mr. Woodbridge was made freeman at Killingworth. Here he was amid such elements of contention, in which two parties of the people partook, as his father was experiencing at Newbury. On a visit to Massachusetts with his wife and family, while tribulations covered New England by the insurrection of Philip and his allies, Mr. Woodbridge has leave from the Council, in 1675, to carry a quantity of grain thither. He was installed at Wethersfield in 1679, and died in 1690. His son John became minister of West Springfield. The father in eternity could rejoice in no brighter crown of the son than that refulgent with seals of the souls he had won for Christ.

October 11. The Assembly order a Synod to meet in Hartford† the third Wednesday of next May, for the purpose of endeavoring to settle difficulties in several churches of their jurisdiction. They invite all the "preaching elders and ministers" of the Colony to attend, and Messrs. "Mitchell, Brown, Sherman and Glover to assist as members." They authorize a committee to "write the elders of the Bay to request them to attend what is here desired." They solemnly recommend that the churches and people suspend discussion of the existing troubles till the Synod shall have decided on them. The questions to be considered by such a body are the same as proposed ten years previously.

The royal Commissioners, in their narrative near this date, about New England, make the following statements as to Connecticut. They "will not hinder any from enjoying the sacraments and using the common prayer book, provided that they hinder not the maintenance of the public minister." They have a scholar "to their minister in every town or village, and, for the most part, they are rigid Presbyterians," who called themselves Congregationalists.

* Trumbull, vol. i, p. 520. Conn. Col. Rec. Farmer's Gen. Reg.

† Gen. Ct. Rec.

CHAPTER VIII.

MASSACHUSETTS. Leverett. — Edward Fletcher. — Burning of London. — Baptist Millennium. — Mitchell's Sermon. — Cape Fear. — John Wilson. — Petition of Ipswich. — Quakers. — Psalm Book. — Governor Willoughby. — Contribution for Barbadoes. — Death of Wilson. — Union weakened. — Synod. — Mission Books. — John Hale. — Call to Davenport. — Thanksgiving. — Fast. — Ipswich Meeting House. — Nipmugs. — John Holyoke. — Public Discussion. — Baptists. — Samuel Shepard. — Henry Flint. — Stoughton's Sermon. — Convention of Elders. — Death of Mitchell. — Protestants. — William Walton. — John Eliot, Jr. — Signification of Church. — Baptists. — Quakers. — Millennium. — Ministers. — Catechism. — Dissenters of First Boston Church. — Newbury Troubles. — Mrs. Bulkley. — Richard Mather. — Thomas Maule. — Thomas a Kempis. — Eleazer Mather. — Maquas defeat Assailants. — Benjamin Bunker. — John Davenport. — Discipline. — Danforth's Sermon. — Excitement. — Confederation renewed. — Letter to Boyle. — Matthew Craddock. — Drinker's Letter. — Natick Church. — Churches and Communicants. — Christian Indians. PLYMOUTH. Regulations of Swansea. — Doctrines. — Disturbances of Worship. — Baptists. — Philip. — Memorial. — Confederation. — John Cotton. — Noah Newman. — Prosecutions. — Divorce. — Walley's Sermon. — School Salaries. MAINE. Catholics. — Letter of Nichols. — Government re-established. — Jocelyn. — Freeman. NEW HAMPSHIRE. Mason's Claim. — Courts. — Keyner's Death. — College. — Pirate. RHODE ISLAND. Indians suspected. — Trouble at Providence. — Letter of Nichols. — Raised Lazarus. — Baptists. — Debate. — Land for Minister. — William Harris. — Westerly. — Gorton's Defense. — French. — John Clark. — Freeman. — Letter of Mason. CONNECTICUT. Covenant. — Synod. — Call of Davenport. — Massachusetts invited to Convention. — Quakers. — Sabbath. — Fast. — Parties at Windsor. — Edward Collins. — Zachariah Walker. — Divisions. — Toleration. — Errorists. — Confederacy. — Afflictions. — Death of Warham. — Election. — Slave. — Ordinations.

MASSACHUSETTS.

1667. January 22. John Leverett, as a magistrate, writes* to Sir Robert Carr, one of the royal Commissioners, in Boston. The occasion of it was the resistance of Carr and his servant, John Deane, to Richard Bennet, a constable, who came to order them away from the house of John Vyal, vintner, on the previous Saturday evening, as the law required. Leverett notified Carr, in a civil manner, to appear before him with Deane, and answer the accusation.

February 13. Edward Fletcher's will is proved.† It mentions

* Hutchinson's Coll. p. 411.

† Calamy, vol. i. p. 533. Farmer and Savage, Gen. Registers.

1667.]

his wife, Mary, as executrix. As a cutler by occupation, he was admitted an inhabitant of Boston, 24th of February, 1640; the next July, a member of the church; in October, a freeman. He was of the Artillery company. He had become a preacher by 1656, when he served as such at Dover. The next year, he went to England. Calamy states, from Jessy's Tract, that Fletcher was minister of Dunsborn, and that the Cavaliers treated him "very inhumanly," and threatened his life. The will of Fletcher, dated 24th February, 1660, says that he was clerk of Badgerden, in the County of Gloucester. Then he had an estate in this town, which he bequeathed to his wife and other relatives. He was ejected in 1662, as a Puritan, and came back to Boston. His widow, Mary, married in 1676, Hugh Drury. A Mr. Fletcher was of Souther-town, or Stonington, in 1664. His suffering denotes that he was a prominent supporter of the Reformation.

28. The church of Salem keep a Fast* in reference to a motion for their brethren on Bass river, to be a church by themselves, and settle John Hale as their minister.

April 2. The same church have similar religious services on account of small pox in Boston and vicinity, and also, of the burning of London. Contributions were taken† in New England for the sufferers by this catastrophe. In Charlestown £105 were given for this object.

28. John Gould, a Baptist, having been admonished, confesses his offense to Reading and Charlestown churches, and, as the records of the latter body say, is, "by the sentence of the Eldership, declared to be restored."

This year a book is printed in London by Samuel Hutchinson, of Boston. It is on the Millennium. Its title is: "Declaration of the Future Glorious Estate of a Church to be here upon Earth, at Christ's Personal Appearance for the Restitution of all Things, a Thousand Years before the Ultimate Day of the General Judgment." The author observes: "I do not hold that Christ will come and reign upon the Earth till the day of Judgment, but this not the ultimate day of Judgment." He sent the work to a friend in England, who wrote to him in 1659, concerning the fifth-monarchy men. He refers to John Davenport, of New Haven, as holding that Christ would come to spiritual judgment, and then to the last judgment.

May 3. A petition from people of Hatfield,‡ on the west side of Connecticut river, worshiping on the other side, gives a graphic description of their frequent trials in the performance of such duty. They have so much to do in their difficulties and perils, they think it a breach of the Sabbath. "Sometimes we come in considerable

* Salem MS. Ch. Rec.

† Hutchinson, 3 ed. vol. i. p. 236.

‡ Holland's Western Massachusetts.

numbers in rainy weather, and are forced to stay till we can empty our canoes, that are half full of water, and before we can get to the meeting-house are wet to the skin. At other times, in winter season, we are forced to cut and work them out of the ice, till our shirts be wet upon our backs. At other times, the winds are high and waters rough, the current strong and the waves ready to swallow us—our vessels tossed up and down, so that our women and children do screech, and are so affrighted that they are made unfit for ordinances, and cannot hear so as to profit by them, by reason of their anguish of spirit; and when they return, some of them are more fit for their beds than for family duties and God's services, which they ought to attend." " Oftentimes some of us have fallen into the river through the ice, and had they not had better help than themselves, they had been drowned. Sometimes we have been obliged to carry others, when they have broken in to the knees as they have carried them out; and that none hitherto hath been lost, their lives are to be attributed to the care and mercy of God."

15. The General Court assemble. The Election Sermon is preached by Jonathan Mitchell, of Cambridge. The title of his discourse is, "Nehemiah on the Wall in Troublous Times." The doctrine is, "It is the duty and the spirit of faithful rulers, even in difficult times, to seek the good of the people, especially when they are the people of God." Discussing this subject, the preacher shows the several duties of the rulers. "They are to seek the maintenance and furtherance of true religion among the people. Religion is the chief and last end of civil policy. In subordination to religion, they are to seek also the external, temporal welfare of the people," as their "safety, honesty, prosperity and tranquillity." Mr. Mitchell ably compares the situation of the people here with the Jews in Jerusalem, when Nehemiah encouraged them to build its walls against the threats of outward and inward opposers. After exhorting the rulers and people separately, he does the same to them as a whole. "Do not wrong and mar an excellent work and profession by mixing and weaving in spurious principles or practices; as those of Separation, Anabaptism, Morellian (Anarchical) confusion, and licentious toleration. It is our errand into the wilderness to study and practice true Scripture-Reformation. To leave the children of non-sandalous orthodox Christians unbaptized, will, I doubt not, be one day found a thing displeasing unto Jesus Christ. But on the other hand, to baptize in such a lax and licentious way, as serves to dress men in the livery, without bearing the yoke of Christ, to have his name upon them with rejection of his government, will not suit either the principles of reformation or the rules of Scripture. So though rigid severity in admissions to the Lord's Table is to be avoided, yet to be lax and slight therein, to admit all sorts to full communion, or upon very slight

1667.]

qualifications, is against the principles and interest of reformation. Again, to put election of church officers into the hands of all, is such a piece of mining confusion, as none of the ways or models of church government, that have been of any repute in the world, would ever admit of. That is an Anabaptistical tenet. Take heed of extremes, and of passing from one extreme to another, which man's weakness is very apt to do." He urges union on all the inhabitants. "Let not them that unite in the main, be disunited by less differences. Never did God take person or people into covenant and near fellowship with himself, but he put them upon this sooner or later to venture all upon God, and to rely upon his mercy, power and faithfulness, having no other string to their bow than faith in him."

A letter is read before the Court from John Vassal and others who had gone from New England and settled at Cape Fear. It represents them as in great distress, and asks relief. Already had collections been made for them in many of our towns, by recommendation of the Governor and other Magistrates. A vessel had sailed with supplies for them. The Court approve of what has been done, and order further contributions for the same good purpose.

Among requisitions of settlers* at Quaboag, are the following: "They are to take care for the getting and maintaining of a godly minister among them, and that no evil persons, enemies to the law of this Commonweal in judgment or practice, be received as inhabitants."

As Mr. Wilson, of Boston,† is confined at home by a "languishing sickness," the Elders, assembled as usual on the occasion of the election, met at his house. They are desirous to see and hear him, lest it should be their last opportunity. They ask him what are the sins which he thinks bring divine displeasure on the country. He replies that he had long feared that the following were such: "Separation, Anabaptism, and Corahism." He explains the last as referring to people who "rise up like Corah, against their ministers or elders, as if they took too much upon them, when indeed they do but rule for Christ. It is nothing for a brother to stand up and oppose, without Scripture or reason, the doctrine or word of the elder, saying, I am not satisfied. And hence, if he do not like the administration, be it baptism or the like, he will turn his back upon God and his ordinances, and go away." He fears that there is something wrong about the baptism of those called grand-children; that the authority of Synods is not duly regarded; that the Magistrates are too slack in the use of their power "for the maintenance of the truth and gospel and ordi-

* Gen. Ct. Rec.

† Norton's Mem., Ed. 1721, p. 228, 9.

nances of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ." At night he makes a farewell prayer and some remarks, and they part in tears.

28. The freemen of Ipswich request* that John Appleton, a signer of the petition from this town, may be allowed to retain his seat with the Deputies. They recommend him "as a gentleman fully orthodox in his judgment as to matters of faith and points of religion professed among us; right, good, honest, pious and prudent in his conversation; true and friendly, faithful as to the interests of the Colony and Government."

It seems, as before stated, from proceedings connected with this, that Deputies of Boston, Salem, Ipswich and Newbury, who petitioned that the General Court would comply with the King's order for men to appear in London and answer charges against the Colony, had been expelled from the Legislature.

June 25. A few of the Quakers† at Salem are fined for absence from allowed public worship.

July 4. The Salem church vote to use‡ the Bay Psalm Book with Ainsworth.

William Willoughby, Governor of Barbadoes, addresses§ the Governor and Assistants of Massachusetts. He sends them back two Indians, who belonged here, had been taken to England, brought to his jurisdiction and sold as slaves. He promises to rectify all such abuses.

13. An order|| is issued by Bellingham and Leverett, as magistrates, which forbids masters of families, their servants and children, to walk in the streets of Boston, on the Sabbath. It is communicated to Messrs. Mayo and Mather, to be read from their pulpit.

August 7. John Wilson, pastor of the first church in Boston, dies in the 79th year of his age. His wife, daughter of Sir John Mansfield, had died in 1658,¶ soon after his eldest son, Edmund, named for his great uncle, Edmund Grindall, archbishop of Canterbury, deceased in England the same year, who was a physician, highly respected for his talents, acquirements and piety. He had lost a daughter, wife to Rev. Ezekiel Rogers, of Rowley. He left another, the wife to Rev. Samuel Danforth, of Roxbury, and a son John, minister of Dorchester, and then of Medfield. While in England, Mr. Wilson published some helps to faith. A lecture of his on dreams has been mentioned. Morton remarks: "In all the changes of times, that passed over him, he was full of faith and prayer, and eminent for sincerity and humility, and for the grace of

* Gen. Ct. MS. Papers. † Essex Qt. Ct. Rec. ‡ Salem 1st Ch. Rec.

§ He says that the English forces were repulsed, June 8, in their attack on the enemy at St. Christopher's, and that they need supplies of men and provisions, which he hopes the people of Massachusetts will be able to furnish.

|| Mather MS. Papers.

¶ Two of his children, Mary and Elizabeth, were admitted to his church, Nov. 19, 1648.

1667.]

love, he had *largeness of heart as the sand of the sea*, to do good to all." Cotton Mather's life of him relates, that "Dr. Ames would say, that if he might have his option of the best conditions that he could propound unto himself on this side Heaven, it would be, that he might be the teacher of a Congregational church, whereof Mr. Wilson should be pastor." The last sermon Mr. Wilson preached was for his son-in-law, Danforth, at Roxbury lecture. "After he had read his text, in the beginnings and conclusions of sundry of the last Psalms, with seraphical voice, he added, If I were sure this were the last sermon that ever I should preach, and these the last words that ever I should speak, yet I would still say, Hallelujah, Hallelujah, Praise ye the Lord! Thus he ended his ministry on earth, thus he began his possession of heaven with hallelujahs."*

21. The Governor and Assistants write to Governor Willoughby, of Barbadoes.† They state that a few days before the reception of his letter, they had another from his father, Lord Willoughby, desiring them to supply his Majesty's fleet at that Island. They add, that exertions had been made accordingly, and a vessel was being loaded with provisions for such an object. They express their thanks for his Lordship's promises to assist their Colony. They remark that they will do what they can in compliance with the Governor's request for provisions, but they are unable to send him any men.

September 5. The Commissioners of the United Colonies meet at Hartford. They remark that the Confederation is so weakened as to require that it be re-established by the Colonies, "who are here willing exiles from the place of our fathers' sepulchres, for the enjoyment of the same spiritual mercies of the same nation, and all of us subjects of the same Prince, knowing well, that the violation thereof will be highly provoking to the most high God, who is the witness and will be the judge of and between the parties concerned; and is also of no less tendency than the breaking down that wall, which under God hath hitherto been and still is the means of our own safety and preservation of his Majesty's dominions here against foreign and domestic enemies." They propose that as one main design of the Confederation is "the preserving and propagating of the truth and liberty of the Gospel, as well as for our outward safety, where any question doth arise in the churches or jurisdiction of common concernment, whether in the matters of faith or order, and any of the Colonies shall apprehend it needful to call in the help of a Council or Synod for the orderly decision thereof,—that the members of such Council or Synod may consist of the messengers of the churches called indifferently out of all the United Colonies

* Cotton's Mather's Lives. Magnalia, vol. i. p. 302. Brook, vol. iii. p. 431-5.

† Hutchinson's Coll. p. 425, 6.

by an orderly agreement of the several General Courts, and the place of meeting be at or near Boston." They recommend to the several jurisdictions, "that some special provision be made for the more comfortable and settled maintenance of an able ministry in every plantation, and where any shall presume to slight or oppose the same by turbulent or schismatical practices, that a con-dign testimony be borne against them."*

John Cotton, who had assisted Mr. Mayhew in labors among the Indians, is advised by the Commissioners to leave the Vineyard and settle among the English, who have given him several invitations to preach for them. A reason for such conclusion was, that there was not the harmony between him and Mr. Mayhew, which was needful for their success.

13. The Commissioners draw a bill on the Corporation in England for £500, to meet the annual charges of the Indian missions.

Books for distribution among the natives, in their language, were as follow: 200 Bibles with clasps, at 2/. 6*d.* each, 200 Practice of Piety, at 6*d.* apiece, 450 Grammars, at 3/. a hundred, 400 Baxter's Call, at 3/. for the like number, and Bible Primers for the scholars.

Persons employed at the station of Martha's Vineyard, Messrs. Mayhew and Cotton, and nine native teachers. Here widow Mayhew and her son Matthew received aid; Mr. Alcock, as previously, and Mrs. Cotton, were paid for medical attendance. At other stations, there were John Eliot, Sen. and Jr., of Roxbury, who had under them eight native teachers, and also Waban at Natick; Mr. Bourne, of Sandwich, and two native teachers; Mr. Pierson preached to Indians in the Connecticut jurisdiction.

Three Indian youths were at the Cambridge Institution, and two others had died there. Two were at Roxbury.

20. The brethren of Salem church, who lived on Bass river side, afterwards Beverly, having had permission from the other brethren to become a separate church, proceed to the settlement of John Hale as their pastor. Before this was done, those who had called him were organized as follows: He "propounded and read a confession of faith and covenant, which they had often considered amongst themselves, and did then express their consent unto that confession and covenant, and so were owned as a particular and distinct church by themselves, by the messengers of the churches present." He was inducted into office "by the laying on of the hands of the Rev. John Higginson, of Salem, of Mr. Thomas Cobbett, pastor at Ipswich, and of Mr. Antipas Newman, of Wenham."

Mr. Hale had preached three years for his people prior to his

* Com'rs MS. Rec. Hazard, Coll. vol. ii. p. 503, 4, 6.

1667.]

ordination. He was son of Robert and Rebekah Hale, of Charlestown. His parish agreed to pay him £70 annually, and thirty cords of fire-wood. They also contracted to give him the use of a house with two acres of land and meadow, yielding "about four loads of hay," and the "benefit of pasturing." They further bound themselves to grant the house and two acres of land, or an equivalent, to his family, if he die as their minister.*

24. The first church of Boston vote by a majority to call John Davenport and James Allen for their ministers. The former of these two was invited to settle over the second church of the same town, in 1651, but he declined. Cotton Mather remarks of them: they, "for the supply of the vacancy upon the death of their former more synodical ministers, applying themselves unto Mr. John Davenport, the greatest of the anti-synodists, the interests of the Synod came to be laid aside therein on that occasion." They who opposed this call of Davenport, asserted that to settle him over the first church of Boston would be not only to reverse its consequent proceedings, but also to nullify the results of the Synod. The church agree to send a letter by messengers to Davenport and his church in New Haven on this subject. Such a movement, as to the parties, has been considered remarkable by various authors. They looked on Davenport's open opposition to the half-way covenant, which the Boston church, under Wilson and Norton, had approved, and the great unwillingness of the New Haven church to part with him, now far advanced in life, as omens of disquietude in both of these places. But there was one point on his part which made it desirable for him to change the location of his ministry. This was his strong disapprobation of the policy adopted by Connecticut to compel the union of the New Haven Colony with them, and his aversion to live under the Government which had so acted. There was another particular which brought the leading men, such as Leverett, to like him more than they had disliked him for what he wrote against the half-way covenant. This was the decided and strong encouragement which he gave the authorities of Massachusetts to deny the offensive claims of the royal Commissioners, and to hold out in their independent attitude. In addition, he and his Boston friends seem to have so far tolerated each other in their different views of such a covenant, as not to disturb their friendly co-operation in other respects. †

October 9. The Legislature convene. They appoint November 5, as Thanksgiving day, for continuance of liberty, preservation from the common enemy, and a good harvest. They designate the first Wednesday of December for Fast day, on account of troubles in churches of all parts, particularly England; wars and devasta-

* Annals of Salem, p. 230, 1.
Conn. vol. i. p. 484, 5.

† First Ch. Rec. of Boston. Trumbull, Davenport Family, p. 163. Bacon's Discourses, p. 142, 3.

tions by means of terrible tempests at the Carribee Islands, and capture of Massachusetts vessels.

Various towns had liberally subscribed for supplies to his Majesty's fleet at the Carribee Islands. The Court request what is behind to be brought forward.

11. The General Court "informed that the people of Ipswich when they assemble to worship God are in great danger by reason of the decay of part of the meeting-house, and the selectmen having taken much care to make the house safe for people's lives, they cannot prevaile with workmen to attend the worke, whereupon they desired a presse from authority. But the Magistrate doubting of his power therein, the Court declareth and ordereth that either of the magistrates of Ipswich may presse so many carpenters for the speedy effecting of that work as they or either of them shall think meet, the selectmen serving of the workmen well and presently paid." The Deputies non-concur.

31. The Court answer a letter from Connecticut, relative to the proposal of the latter for a Synod, and also to the re-establishment of the Confederation. They say "that we may be no obstruction to your pious motion for a mutual accord in searching out the mind of God in any matters of public concernment to the Church of Christ, we shall and do hereby declare ourselves to be always ready to yield such help as the Lord shall afford us." They then observe that they cannot send back a particular reply, because they have not received the individual questions to be considered. They remark, if these should be sent to them, "We shall endeavor to do what we shall understand to be the mind of the Lord for help and assistance and the maintenance of peace and truth."*

The Nipmug Indians,† of "Quatisicker," had expressed a willingness to receive gospel instruction, pray to God, and come under the protection of Massachusetts.

November 26. The following relates to Quakers‡ of Salem. Josiah Southwick is sentenced to pay 10/. "for contempt of authority by keeping on his hat after he was required to put it off." Others of his denomination are fined. If refusing to pay or give security, they are to be confined a week in the house of correction at Ipswich, on their own cost, and the Marshal is to impress carts and horses for their conveyance thither.

Though Marblehead had been set off from Salem,§ yet the church of the former remained a branch of the church in the latter town. These two are appointed to consult with the members at Marblehead about their wish to call and settle a minister to assist Mr. Walton.

This year, John Holyoke,|| graduate of Harvard College, 1662,

* Conn. Gen. Ct. Rec. † Mass. Gen. Ct. Rec. ‡ Essex Qt. Ct. Rec.

§ First Ch. Rec. of Salem. || Holland's Western Mass. Farmer's N. E. Gen. Reg.

1668.]

preached six months, at Westfield. Residing at Springfield, 1684, he was entitled clerk; was representative from that town, 1691, and died 1712.

December 26. Jonathan Mitchell, of Cambridge, dates a letter* in which he advocates the half-way covenant and consociation.

1668. January 14. As an indication† of what more than usually affected the public mind, the Salem church, of which William Hathorne, who had been ordered to England, was a member, keep a Thanksgiving day, for the preservation of liberty, as well as for news of peace between England and France and Holland, several months before.

March 3. The case of Thomas Gould,‡ Baptist, comes before the Court of Assistants in Boston, on an appeal from the County Court of Middlesex, who had sentenced him to imprisonment because he refused to pay a fine for worshipping, contrary to law, with his own denomination. Such judgment is confirmed, though the jury are disposed to favor him, and he is recommitted to prison.

7. "The Governor and Council, accounting themselves bound by the law of God, and of this Commonwealth, to protect the churches of Christ here planted, from the intrusion thereby made upon their peace in the ways of godliness, yet being willing by all Christian candor to endeavor the reducing of the said persons from the error of their way, and their return to the Lord and the communion of his people from whence they are fallen, do judge meet to grant unto Thomas Gould, John Farnham, Thomas Osborn and company,§ yet further an opportunity of a full and free debate, of the grounds for their practice." For this purpose, such magistrates nominate and invite Rev. Messrs. John Allen, Thomas Cobbett, John Higginson, Samuel Danforth, Jonathan Mitchell and Thomas Shepard, to meet with them on the 14th of next month, "in the meeting-house at Boston, at nine in the morning." They provide, that before them and these invited elders with others, the Baptist brethren may appear and publicly debate the following question: "Whether it be justifiable by the Word of God, for these persons and their company to depart from the communion of these churches, and to set up an assembly here in the way of Anabaptism, and whether such a practice is to be allowed by the Government of this jurisdiction?" Thomas Gould is notified by the Council to inform his brethren of the Baptist church, that he and they are to appear as "above-mentioned."

8. The Governor and Council|| request the ministers of all the towns to go, in imitation of their Congregational brethren in England, and converse from house to house with young and old, within

* Boston Athenæum Tracts, p. 33.

† Backus, vol. i. p. 374, 5.

|| Mass. Council Rec. Annals of Salem.

† First Ch. Rec. of Salem.

§ Ibid. p. 375, 6.

the bounds of their parishes. Compliance with this advice was attended with good effects.

April 7. Samuel Shepard, minister of Rowley, dies.* He was son of Rev. Thomas Shepard, of Cambridge; born October, 1641, and graduated at Harvard College, 1658. He joined his father's church, July 19, 1663, and was ordained at Rowley, November 15, 1665. He preached for several years before he saw his way clear to join the church. He married Dorothy, daughter to Rev. Henry Flint, of Braintree, April 30, 1666. He left a son, Samuel, graduate at Harvard College, 1685. After a short period in the ministry of reconciliation, he is called to abound in the wonderful survey of so great a work, which eternity affords.

14. Now and the next day, according to appointment, the public discussion† with the Baptists, takes place. The six ministers named, opposed the arguments of Gould and others. These are assisted by William Hiscox, Joseph Torrey and Samuel Hubbard, members of Mr. Clark's church, of Newport, who reached Boston three days before the discussion. The Life of Mitchell remarks concerning it: "Whereof the effect was, that although the erring brethren, as is usual in such cases, made this their last answer to the arguments which had cast them into much confusion, *say what you will, we will hold our minds*: yet others were happily established in the right ways of the Lord."

27. Henry Flint,‡ minister of Braintree, dies, aged 61. He married Margery, sister to President Hoar. She deceased, March, 1686-7, and was buried on the right of her husband. He was remarkable for his "piety, learning, wisdom, and fidelity in his office." She was a superior helpmeet, "peculiarly accomplished for instructing young gentlewomen; many being sent to her from other towns, especially from Boston." They left several children. Cotton Mather said of him: "He that was a solid *stone* in the foundation of New England, is gone to be a glorious one in the walls of the New Jerusalem."

29. The Election Sermon is preached by William Stoughton, of Dorchester. His subject is "New England's True Interest, not to lie; or the terms on which we stand, and the tenure by which we hold our hitherto-continued precious and pleasant things." Several remarks of the discourse follow.: "This we must know, that the Lord's promises and expectations of great things, have singled out New England, and all sorts and ranks of men amongst us, above any nation or people in the world; and this hath been and is a time and season of eminent trial to us. If I should say, that the very world, or common ordinary professors expect great things from us at this day, there is a great deal of weight in it. If I say,

* Among assistants to Mr. Phillips, after Mr. Shepard's death, was Samuel Brackenbury, who thus served two years.

† Backus, vol. i. p. 376, 7. Mass. Gen. Ct. Rec. ‡ Magnalia, b. iii. p. 122.

1668.]

that the faithful precious suffering saints of God in other places, that have heard of the Lord's providences towards us, do expect and promise great things from us, this is far more." In reference to the origin of the primitive settlers, "God sifted a whole nation, that he might send choice grain over into this wilderness. Alas! how is New England in danger this day to be lost even in New England! To be buried in its own ruins! How is the good grain diminished and the chaff increased! New England hath yet its advantages as well as engagements in this great matter of owning the cause of God, and standing their ground for God and Christ and the Gospel. We must decide for whom we are, there will be no other remedy. We indeed of these ends of the earth have long since made our choice. We have given up ourselves to the Lord Jesus as our spiritual King and Law-giver, to be his portion and inheritance. Now that which the Lord expects is, that we stick to this our choice, that we give not back a whit so as to become liars unto that God, who unto us hath not been as waters that fail." Relative to the questions then agitated, between the advocates for the Quakers, Baptists, Episcopalians and Congregationalists, etc., we have the subsequent passage: "That no persuasion nor practice can ever, in the conscience of the contrary-minded, have a right to public liberty and countenance, which, being thoroughly attended to, doth indeed tend to the undermining, and so in the issue to the overthrow of the state of these churches, in that wherein it is of God, and hath been largely and plentifully owned by him. And of this case and the application thereof, those who are in authority may and ought to judge." Among the closing remarks are: "If the Lord preserve unto us a faithful people, a faithful ministry, a faithful magistracy, He will then appoint salvation for walls and bulwarks to us." The author of this discourse was thanked by the General Court for it, and desired to have it printed.

30. The elders in convention present an address* to the General Court, "touching the case of those that set up an assembly here among us in the way of Anabaptism." Several extracts from this document are as follows: "That it belongs to the civil authority to exercise their care and power about matters of this nature, and to restrain and suppress open enormities in religion, that are of momentous and perilous consequence, is abundantly clear from the Scriptures." Texts are adduced. Then reasons are offered against the sect in question. "The way of Anabaptism is a known and irreconcilable enemy to the orthodox and orderly churches of Christ, and so to these here established; 1, by making infant baptism a nullity, and so making us all to be unbaptized persons, and, therefore, to have no regular churches, ministry or ordinances, yea, to be incapable of obtaining them in any ordinary way; 2, by

* Gen. Ct. Rec.

renouncing all our churches, either as no churches, or as so bad and corrupt that they are not fit to be held communion with; 3, by rejecting the true covenant of God (Gen. 17 c. 7-14 vs.) whereby the church is constituted and continued, and cutting off from the churches half the members that belong to them; 4, by its known and constant opposition to an orderly, settled, able ministry, and to the power of the magistracy in matters of religion; 5, by teaching men to disacknowledge or slight a political, ministerial judge, (either ecclesiastical or civil,) and to set up themselves as their own sole judges in their own case, and so introducing a spirit of anarchy and confusion; 6, by entertaining those that are weary of Christ's truth and government in the churches, or fall under censure therein, so multiplying schisms and confusion, and making our discipline to be of none effect. Hence an assembly in the way of Anabaptism would be among us an anti-temple, an enemy in this habitation of the Lord; an anti-New England in New England, manifestly tending to the disturbance and destruction of these churches, which their nursing fathers ought not to allow. Second. To set up an assembly in the way of Anabaptism is to set up a free school of seduction, wherein false teachers may have open liberty to seduce the people into ways of error, which may not be suffered. Third. At the same door may all sorts of abominations come in among us, should this be allowed, for a few persons may, without the consent of our ecclesiastical and civil order, set up a society in the name of a church, themselves being their sole judges therein; then the vilest of men and deceivers may do the like, and we have no fence nor bar to keep them out. Moreover, if this assembly be tolerated, where shall we stop? Why may we not, by the same reason, tolerate an assembly of Familists, Socinians, Quakers, Papists; yea, 'tis known that all these have elsewhere crept in under the mask of Anabaptism. Fourth. To allow the setting of an assembly in this way, as hath been lately preached by some among us, is to allow the open profanation of all the ordinances of God. 1, Of church gathering by coming together in a way of schism, disorder and confusion; 2, of the ministry, by setting up a ministry that is not of God, being without ministerial qualifications, without due sequestration to the work, without orderly public approbation, and therefore a bold usurpation of that holy function, without all warrant from the Lord; 3, of baptism by re-baptization; 4, of that and the other sacrament by private, uncalled, yea, excommunicated persons taking upon them to administer the same, and that unto persons under censure. Fifth. We may argue by comparing the matter in question with things mentioned in Scripture as unallowable, which yet were not worse than an assembly with us in the way of Anabaptism. This is as bad as the high places in Judah, viz., those high places that were dedicated to the worship of the true God, being only contrary to the order God then

1668.]

appointed, II. Kings, 18 c. 4—22 vs., and 23 c. 8, 9 vs.; as bad as that altar in Joshua, 22 c. 18, 19 vs., though it had been for sacrifices; as bad as the buyers and sellers in the temple and other pollutions thereof, which Christ would not suffer, 11 c. Mark, 15, 16 vs.; as bad as many of those hinderers of the building of the temple, whom David and Artaxerxes made decrees against, and are commended for it, Ezra, 6 c. 11, 12 vs.; 7 c. 26, 27 vs. Anabaptism hath been always known to be a notorious hinderance and troubler of the temple building. Sixth. We in this country are but a weak and small people, and therefore necessarily disquieted and endangered by faction and opposition. If this one assembly be allowed, by the same reason may a second, third, etc.; schools of them will soon be swarming hither. But if once that party become numerous and prevailing, this country is undone, the work of reformation been ruined, and the good ends and enjoyments which this people have adventured and expended so much for, utterly lost. Seventh. The people of this place have a clear right to the way of religion and order that is here established, and to a freedom from all that may be disturbing and destructive thereunto. Having with great cost, hazard and labor obtained, ventured over the ocean, planted themselves in a remote corner of the world, on purpose that they might enjoy the ordinances of God according to his Word, for themselves and theirs, here alone in peace: and accordingly they have erected churches and settled religion in the way of Pedobaptism, and secured the same by laws established; other contrary ways, therefore, cannot be here set up without real injury to the body of this people, who still cleave to the principles and ends of their first coming; neither should they be constrained to receive or retain among them such a troublesome and dangerous inmate as an Anabaptistical society is; nor to leave their posterity to be a prey unto such temptations, seduction and confusion as this will expose them to. Eighth. God having given us so many warnings by other places where Anabaptism getting head hath proved an incendiary and vexation to church and state, it would be too great an imprudence not to take warning thereby, Prov. 22 c. 3 v. The question now before us not being what forbearance the churches here have used or may use towards particular persons among them, who only scruple infant baptism, and do not spread their scruples, and are otherwise orderly and peaceable; but what is to be done as to such who set up an assembly here in the way of Anabaptism? We speak not to the former but to the latter question.”*

* Rowley Ch. Records.

May 2, 1668. In the afternoon, John Davenport and wife, with his son and family, reach Boston, and are welcomed by many of the inhabitants. They are sheltered from a heavy shower by the coach of Mr. Searle, sent out to meet them.

May 2. The Legislature while in session this month attend to various calls.* They take up the important case of the Baptists. "Whereas, Thomas Gould and company have been complained of, and stand convicted in this Court of setting up an unlawful assembly, which they call a church of Christ, whereof they have been admonished, warned and required to desist from their offensive and presumptuous practices, yet have declared their resolution to continue therein: And whereas the Council assembled in March last, did, for their further conviction, appoint a meeting of divers elders, and require the said persons to attend the said meeting, which was holden in Boston with a great concourse of people, the effect whereof hath not been prevalent with them as we could have desired: This Court being sensible of their duty to God and the country, and being desirous that their proceedings in this great cause might be clear and regular, do order that the said Gould and company be required to appear before this Court on the 7th inst., at 8 o'clock in the morning, that the Court may understand from themselves, whether upon the means used or other considerations, they have altered their former declared resolution, and are willing to desist from their former offensive practice, that accordingly a meet effectual remedy may be applied to so dangerous a malady, and the Secretary to issue out warrants accordingly."

7. Thomas Gould, William Turner and John Farnham, Sen., appear,† but still justify their past course. Hull informs us, that when asked whether they would lay down their assemblies, they answered, that they felt themselves "bound to continue in their way, and were ready to seal it with their blood." The Court recount the various means ineffectually employed to turn them from their opinions. They observe that the toleration of their secession from gospel order, would open a "door for all sorts of abominations, to the disturbance not only of our ecclesiastical enjoyments, but also contempt of our civil order and the authorities here established." Considering such consequences, the Legislature "judge it necessary that they be removed to some other part of this country or elsewhere, and accordingly doth order, that the said Gould, Turner and Farnham do, before the 20th of July next, remove themselves out of this Jurisdiction," and that if after this time, either of them be found here without a license from the Court or Council, he shall be imprisoned, and so remain until he shall give sufficient security to depart immediately and not return without such permission. The authorities forbid these Baptists to hold any meetings on the Sabbath with those of their denomination before the specified 20th of July; and order that, if they do, they shall be confined in jail until the 10th of July, when they may be released so as to have ten days for preparation to leave the Colony.

* Gen. Ct. Records.

† Gen. Ct. Rec. Backus, vol. i. p. 377.

1688.]

As Gould is still imprisoned in Middlesex for refusing to pay his fine, the Court conclude that after the lecture to them and the declaration of the sentence against him and his two brethren, he may be set at liberty, so that he may get ready for his withdrawal from their Government.*

27. The inhabitants of Rowley, settled over against Haverhill, are allowed their petition to be a township when they shall have settled "an able and orthodox minister."

Philip Wharton, supposed to be a Quaker, being absent, and his wife, Mary, destitute, the Selectmen of Boston are empowered† to use his property, left in the hands of another man, for her support.

On professions of friendship‡ to them by the Nipmugs and Narragansetts, the Legislature declare themselves to be in amity with them, and grant a trial to the former Indians "in their profession to pray to God and to be in subjection to the Government of Massachusetts."

June 13. Robert Page, of Boston, is prosecuted§ for "setting sail from Nahant, in his boat, being loaden with wood, thereby profaning the Lord's day."

30. Some of the Salem Quakers|| are fined for non-attendance on the authorized worship. Edward Wharton, one of them, though uncalled for, repeatedly entered the Court "in an unreverent manner with his hat on," and declared that the Government had shed innocent blood. He was asked if he did not wickedly, by thus expressing himself. He replied: "God forbid I should own that to be wicked, which God requires of me." He was amerced £50, and ordered to be imprisoned till the sum should be paid.

July 9. Jonathan Mitchell, of Cambridge, dies in his 43d year. He was son of Jonathan, born at Halifax, Yorkshire, 1624; was brought to New England by his father, 1635; and, as a member of his family, in different places, was called to endure severe afflictions. He graduated, as an eminent scholar, from Harvard, 1647. Even before his first public sermon, the fame of his "learning, wisdom, gravity and piety" had so spread, that several prominent churches endeavored to secure his services. The church at Hartford sent a man and horse for him, and he was prevailed on to visit them. He preached his first sermon there, June 24, 1649, but he preferred the people of Shepard, and was ordained over them, August 21, 1650. He married Margaret, daughter of his predecessor in office, and left several children. He preached a monthly lecture, fully attended by persons from adjacent towns, as well as

* Hull's MS. Diary. Backus, vol. i. p. 377-80.

† Francis Willoughby, Deputy Governor, and others, did not coincide in these measures against the Baptists.—Backus, vol. i. p. 382.

‡ Gen. Ct. Rec. § Drake's Boston. || Essex Qt. Ct. Rec. Annals of Salem.

by others of Cambridge. He wrote a letter, containing religious observations, 1649, to his brother; was author of a Preface to "The Perfection of Glorification Hereafter in Heaven;" of an Election Sermon, as already mentioned; drew up Considerations on the subject of Baptism, printed 1675; and preached ten discourses on the glory to which God hath called believers by Jesus Christ; published in London, 1677, and afterwards in Boston, 1721. Bradstreet's Journal remarks of him: "He was a man of eminent parts and great learning."

"He seemed express on Heaven's high errand sent,
As Moses meek, as Aaron eloquent."

August 9. To this date from January 26, thirty-two persons were admitted to the church of Charlestown, and all but three by profession.

20. The Diary of Hull has the record of news, suited to excite the sympathy of our churches, that "Protestants are much oppressed in France; many of their public meeting places are taken from them. Non-conformists in England have no liberty to preach. Many fears of a massacre from the Popish party there, heightened from the coming over of Frenchmen in small companies."

September. About this time, William Walton, of Marblehead, dies. The inventory of his estate was taken the next 23d of November. His wife, Elizabeth, survived him, and died 1682, leaving several children. Though Marblehead was incorporated during his ministry, still the church there, of which he was pastor, was continued as a branch of the Salem church for that period and some time longer. His emigration to enjoy the privileges of reform, and his long and steady labors among his flock, are indications that, though not enrolled on the pages of history, he deserves the estimation of no ordinary worth.

October 11. John, son of John Eliot, missionary among the Indians, dies,† as the first minister of Newton. He was born at Roxbury, August 31, 1636, graduated at H. Coll., 1656, admitted freeman, 1660, and ordained July 20, 1664. His first wife was Sarah, who died and left a daughter Sarah. His second was Elizabeth, daughter of Daniel Gookin, whom he married May 23, 1666. She left a son John. Hull informs us, that Mr. Eliot preached at a Fast in Cambridge, and was taken after it with an eruption of blood, which caused his death in a few weeks. For years he was an efficient assistant to his father in his mission among the natives. Gookin informs us, that besides his labors at Cambridge Village, "he for several years preached the gospel to the Indians, once a fortnight constantly at Pakemit, and sometimes at Natick and other

* Magnalia, b. iv. p. 166-85.

† Morton's Memorial, p. 242, makes it 11th, but Hull's Diary has it 13th.

[1668.]

places. The most judicious Christian Indians esteemed him as a most excellent preacher in their language." Morton says of him, "He was a person excellently endowed and accomplished with gifts of nature, learning and grace. All the wise and godly, who knew him, loved and honored him in the Lord, and bewailed his death." Apprehensive, like others, that, from appearances, calamities would come upon the country, he said to those around his dying bed, "My dear friends, there is a dark day coming upon New England. In so dark a day, how will you provide for your own security? My council to you is, secure an interest in the Lord Jesus Christ, and that will carry you safely to the world's end."

12. Nicholas Street, in behalf of the New Haven* church, writes to the Boston church. They mentioned that while their first letter about Mr. Davenport had been interpreted as granting him permission to leave them, their second had been explained as withholding such liberty from him. They added, "Yet if this will satisfy, (but not otherwise,) we are content to waive and bury in silence, and leave both yourselves and him to make what improvement you see cause, (without any clog or impediment from us upon that account,) of the liberty before mentioned. As he hath been a faithful laborer in God's vineyard at New Haven for many years, to the bringing home of many souls to God, and building up of many others; so it is and shall be our prayer to God to lengthen his life and tranquillity in Boston, to double his Spirit upon him, assist him in his work, and make him a blessed instrument of much good to yourselves and many others." They then remarked, that as Mr. Davenport, his son and their two wives had requested to be dismissed from their church, we desire "you to receive them in the Lord as becometh saints," and implore "Almighty God for his blessing upon them from his holy ordinances in their communion with you."

14. The General Court assemble. They pass the following:† "Whoever travels a horseback, on foot or in boat, on the Sabbath, to any unlawful assembly or meeting, are profaners of this holy day and shall be prosecuted accordingly."

"Whereas the Christian magistrate is bound by the Word of God to preserve the peace, order or liberty of the churches of Christ, and by all due means to promote religion in doctrine and discipline, according to the Word of God; and whereas by our Law, titled, Ecclesiastical, Sec. 4; It is ordered and declared, that every church hath free liberty of calling, election and ordination of all her officers, from time to time, provided they be able, pious and orthodox. For the better explanation of the said law,

* Bacon's Historical Discourse, p. 144, 5. Wisner's Hist. of the Old South Church, p. 75.

† Mass. Archives. Eccl. i. p. 65.

and as an addition thereunto, this Court doth order and declare, and be it hereby ordered and enacted, that by the *church*, is to be meant such as are in full communion only; and that the teaching officer or officers of such church or churches, we do intend shall be the minister or ministers to all the people in that Town where such church or churches are planted; and that no inhabitant in any Town shall challenge a right unto, or act in the calling or election of such officer or minister, until he be in full communion, upon the penalty of being accounted a disturber of peace and order, to be punished by the Court of that Shire, either by admonition, security for good behaviour, fine or imprisonment, according to the quality and degree of the offense."

The sentence passed against the Baptists in May, is ordered to be printed. An answer to this was written* apparently by Gould's wife, who took steps for its transmission to the Baptists of England.

November 7. The Court take up a petition† from inhabitants of Boston and Charlestown, in favor of Gould, Turner and Farnham. They observe that there are expressions in it reproachful to them, and not true; that they have charity towards many of the subscribers, who have been unduly influenced. They command Edward Hutchinson, James Oliver, Richard Way, Thomas Grubb, William Howard, Randal Nichols, Solomon Phips and James Cary, who were of them, to appear and answer. These persons accordingly obey, 22d, and apologize for unintentionally offending the Court. It appears that Benjamin Sweetser and Joshua Atwater had been the chief promoters of the petition, and gone from house to house for the purpose. The Court admonish both of them, fine Sweetser, £10, and Atwater, £5.

In reply to Farnham's request, the Legislature release him from prison, if he will attend worship twice on the Sabbath when able, in assemblies allowed by law. Provided he do not so comply, his sentence of banishment and imprisonment is to remain.

24. Some of the Salem Quakers‡ are prosecuted. Samuel Shattuck, John Blevin, Josiah Southwick and Joshua Buffum are to be imprisoned one month for not paying their fines. Nathaniel Hadlock is admonished for worshipping with them; fined 40/. for refusing to assist a constable; and is to be whipped severely for declaring that he could receive no profit from Higginson's ministry, and that the Government were guilty of innocent blood. He is required to give bond in £20, that he will keep the peace.

December 9. Messrs. Davenport as pastor, and Allen as teacher, are settled over the First church in Boston. Hull states that the brethren who dissented from this union, desired their dismission before it took place, but without avail, and that their communion

* Backus, vol. i. p. 382.

† Gen. Ct. Rec.

‡ Essex Qt. Ct. Papers.

November 1. John Davenport, Sen. and Jun., and their wives, are admitted members to the First church in Boston.

1669.]

at the table was not without trouble. Mr. Allen,* who had been a Fellow of New College, Oxford, and ejected by the Bartholomew act, came to this country, 1662, was admitted a member of the First Boston church, August 25, 1664, and a freeman, 1665.

This year, as a means of confirming what many supposed were real charges against the Anabaptists, a book known as the "Rise, Springing and Foundation" of this denomination, written in French by Guy de Brez, 1665, was printed in Cambridge and sold by Marmaduke Johnson.

In connection with his story of the Jews' return to the Messiah, Increase Mather writes upon the Millennium,† under the words, "Diatriba de Signo Filii Hominis, et de Secundo Messie Adventu." It was printed in Holland, 1682. Its preface was composed by John Davenport.

1669. January. The following was written from New to Old England "by a Reverend minister* who had lived there forty years." "There came over from England at several times, chiefly before 1610, ninety-four ministers, of which twenty-seven returned to England again, and there are now dead in the country, thirty-six; and as yet living in the country, thirty-one. The ministers bred up in New England, are one hundred and thirty-two, of which two are dead in the country, forty-one have removed to England, most of them from our College, besides other scholars, that have in England turned to other professions, and eighty-one, that are now living in the country, employed in the ministry in several places."

"It hath pleased the Lord to give such a blessing to the Gospel among the Indians, that in divers places there are not only many civilized, but divers that are truly godly, and shame the English, and are much hated by others of their own countrymen. Though that work has met with many obstructions and remoraes, chiefly by the death of some of the choicest instruments, and many of the best of the Indians; yet it may well be believed, that there is such a seed of the Gospel scattered among them, which will grow unto a further harvest in God's time."

February 12. Edward Rainsford, brother of Lord Chief Justice Rainsford, and Jacob Eliot, are displaced by the First church of Boston§ from being their Deacons. The reason of this is, that these two officers, with other brethren, had desired to be dismissed from the church, because they had chosen Mr. Davenport for their pastor.

March 2. The Court of Assistants grant permission || to Thomas Gould and William Turner, imprisoned for adherence to their pur-

* Calamy, vol. ii. p. 75.

† Remarkables of I. Mather, p. 64, 235. Magnalia, b. iii. ch. 4, p. 301.

‡ John Higginson had been in New England this period. Account of Four Chief Plantations, N. England, etc.

§ First Ch. Rec.

|| Backus, vol. i. p. 396, 7.

pose of continuing worship with others, as a Baptist Society, that they may be liberated for three days, so as to visit their families and "apply themselves to any that are able and orthodox, for their further conviction of their many irregularities in these practices, for which they were sentenced," and that they give security to the prison keepers for their return to confinement.

10. The Governor and Council advise the ministers of all towns "to catechize and instruct all people (especially youth) in the sound principles of the Christian Religion, and that not only in public, but privately from house to house, or at least three, four or more families meeting together, as time and strength may permit; taking to your assistance such godly and grave persons, as to you may seem expedient."* Such advice was sent in a printed letter to every minister of the Colony. Conformity with it was salutary.

25. We have a letter of this date from Robert Mascall, † of Finsbury, near Morefield, in England. He expresses his great regard for New England and her churches, and gratitude for divine aid in visiting her shores. He is anxious, however, because they "persecute" the Baptists, who are freely admitted to the churches of like form in England. He mentions that the Congregationalists of Massachusetts are reported to have "swerved aside towards" Presbyterianism, which he considers an evil, and one that did great injury to Scotland. As to those of this order, he observes, "The generality of them here, even to this day, will not freely consent to our enjoyment of our liberty; though through mercy the best and most reformed of them do otherwise." He argues eloquently, that even though the Baptists are opposed to the baptism of children on behalf of their parents, and to the institution of Ruling Elders, yet they should be borne with, and those of them imprisoned, should be immediately released.

On the same subject, a communication‡ from the Rev. Drs. Goodwin and Owen, Messrs. Nye and Caryl, and nine other distinguished ministers of the dissenting interest in London, is addressed to the Governor of this Colony. These correspondents revert to what the authorities had done to suppress the Baptist denomination. They regret such procedure as calculated to hurt the Congregational cause in England. They state that it had been cast in their teeth, that persons of their persuasion could not "bear with dissenters from them." They advise: "We only make it our hearty request to you that you would trust God with his truths and ways so far as to suspend all rigorous proceedings in corporal restraints and punishments, on persons that dissent from you, and practice the principles of their dissent without danger or disturbance to the civil peace of the place."

* Annals of Salem, p. 236. Neal's New England, vol. i. p. 370.

† Backus, vol. i. p. 390-5.

‡ Magnalia, b. vii. p. 27, 8.

1669.]

26. Messrs. Higginson, of Salem, and Thatcher, of Boston, recommend to the public Morton's Memorial, as indicated in the beginning of the book.

29. A question comes before the First church of Boston,* whether they "see light from the word of God to dismiss our dissenting brethren that desire it," and is decided in the negative. On the 31st of March, the brethren so denied, being twenty-eight of Boston and one of Charlestown, send letters to various churches to meet in council, on the 13th of next month; and advise them on taking a dismission and forming a new church. Among their reasons for this course are, that Mr. Davenport opposed the half-way covenant, and was not regularly dismissed from New Haven church. On the 6th of April, some of the elders meet at Charlestown† to consult whether they should inform the First Boston church that they were grieved and offended, because they had refused to dismiss their dissenting members, and more so because they endeavored to censure them. On the 13th of April, a council, composed of elders and delegates from fifteen churches, assemble at Charlestown on similar business. They apply to Mr. Davenport and his colleague, and then to these with their church, in order to compromise the difficulties, but without success. After these steps, they approve of the advice given by a similar body to the dissenting brethren, and counsel them to become a separate church by themselves. On the 16th of April the council hand their decision to the dissenters, who delivered it to their elder, Penn, on the 19th, when he gives it to the First church, who decline to receive any papers from such council as being irregular.

March 30. A committee of Newbury‡ complain to the County Court sitting at Ipswich, of Edward Woodman, because he had spoken of their ministers, Messrs. John Woodbridge and Thomas Parker, in very hard terms. The cause of such a charge was connected with a division in the church of two parties, nearly equal, the one called Mr. Parker's and the other Mr. Woodman's. The latter was strongly opposed to the Presbyterian order exercised by the former. The Court decide that Mr. Woodman "shall be seriously and solemnly admonished and enjoined to make a

* First Ch. Record.

† Ministers named on this council at Charlestown, were as follows: Mather and Stoughton, of Dorchester, Shepard, of Charlestown, Torrey, of Weymouth, Bulkley, of Concord, Whiting, of Lynn, Philips, of Rowley, Cobbet, of Ipswich; Palmer and White are named for Haverhill, though there is no proof that either of them was a preacher; Dane, of Andover, Brown, of Sudbury, Rowlandson, of Lancaster, Sherman, of Watertown, Hale, of Bass River, Higginson, of Salem, and Newman and Fisk, of Wrentham, supposed that one or both were ministers, but, as their Christian names are not given, cannot determine.

‡ Coffin's History.

April 21, 1669. "Mrs. Grace Bulkley, the widow of Mr. Peter Bulkley, some time pastor of the church of Concord, deceased. She was a woman of great piety and wisdom."

public confession at the next public town and church meeting at Newbury," or pay £5 and costs. Samuel Symonds and William Hathorne, of the justices, dissent from the decision. These two give their opinion that in the striving of each party for the control, the Congregational part being equal to the other in numbers, if not greater, not only Mr. Woodman, but other brethren, had uttered hard language, and that they all should seek for peace and confess their miscarriages at a church meeting, and particularly Mr. Woodman. On the 28th of April, Mr. Parker's friends being dissatisfied with this opinion of Symonds and Hathorne, complained to the same Court that said opinion had not been communicated to them, nor did they consider it legal, because they had no trial in reference to it; and then they proceed to traverse its several positions. They particularly notice the manner of voting in the church, as one of the most fruitful sources of complaint. "Near thirty years since, at a Synod at Cambridge, it was proposed, and it was consented unto by them, that if the ministers thought it most convenient to vote by speech and silence, rather than by lifting up the hand, they had nothing against it; seeing the one was a testimony of consent as well as the other; so this kind of voting began and continued in practice, without difference or interruption, for a good season." No beneficial result appears to have followed from the Court's decision. As usual, each party fortified itself in the belief of its own rectitude. On the 5th of November, an *ex parte* council, consisting of messengers from nine churches, invited to consider the troubles, give in the result of their deliberations through Thomas Cobbett. They speak of meetings and votes of the Woodman party, claiming to be the church, distinct from the supporters of Mr. Parker, as contrary to gospel order, and no more to be held and passed. They advise the latter party to be kind towards the dissenters, so that the gospel cause be not reproached. This endeavor to settle the contention was ineffectual. Not only did dissension prevail in religious matters of the town, but in all its other public concerns.

April 22. Richard Mather, minister of Dorchester, departs this life. His first wife was Catharine, daughter of Edmund Hault, whom he married in England. She died in 1655. He was married to Sarah, widow of Rev. John Cotton, August 26, 1656. His children were Samuel, Timothy, Nathaniel and Joseph, born in England, and Eleazer and Increase, born at Dorchester. A few days prior to his decease, he took an active part in favor of the dissenting brethren of Boston, whose case has been just mentioned. He composed a discourse about the Church Covenant, and a reply to thirty-two questions, by request of the Elders of New England, printed 1639. In 1640, he assisted Messrs. Eliot and Welde in making a version of the Psalms. He wrote, as before stated, an answer to Charles Herle's publication against the Independency of Churches,

1669.]

1644, and another to Rutherford in defense of the answer, 1646. His Model of Church Discipline, presented to the Synod of 1648, was principally adopted by them in preference to others, offered by Cotton and Partridge. He wrote a letter of exhortation to his countrymen of Lancashire, 1650; a catechism; a treatise on Justification, 1652; a communication to Mr. Hooker in favor of a minister's administering the sacrament to a congregation not under his own immediate care; an election sermon, 1660; reply to Mr. Davenport's objections to propositions of the Synod, 1662. In addition, he prepared for the press discourses on the Second Epistle of Peter, and a defense of the New England churches. A small likeness of Mather affords the following sketch: A striking countenance, with eyes and nose of more than common size, and a full and long beard. His clothing was a black cap, white bands and black gown, with small white cuffs. His right hand holds a pair of bow spectacles, and his left, an open Bible. His intellectual powers were above the common order, well disciplined by the studies of literature and science. His extensive acquaintance with church history and theology, and above all his eminent piety, fitted him for the sphere in which he moved, to the benefit of many at home and abroad, and to the honor of his Saviour. To him,* among the worthies of our country, New England is much indebted for the salutary influences which have largely contributed to whatever of excellence and prosperity she has experienced and still hopes to enjoy.

May 3. Thomas Maule, of Salem, a Quaker,† is sentenced to be whipped ten stripes for asserting that Mr. Higginson preached lies, and that his instruction was "the doctrine of devils."

12 and 16. At these two dates, the Third Congregational church of Boston is formed at Charlestown, consisting of brethren from Mr. Davenport's church.‡ Part of them signed the Covenant on the former date, and others on the latter. Six of the magistrates were of opinion, that such formation should not be allowed, and eight of them entertained a different judgment. Three of the elders opposed it, and the rest of them were in its favor.

About the last date, seventeen ministers,§ probably the Council who sanctioned the embodiment of the new church, protest against the proceedings of Messrs. Davenport and Allen, and their ruling elder, James Penn. They censure Mr. Davenport's leaving his pastoral charge in New Haven. They interpret the reading of

* Magnalia, b. iii. ch. 20, p. 122-30. Hull's MS. Diary says Mather died 20th of April.

† Essex Qt. Ct. Rec. Annals of Salem, p. 235.

‡ Hull's MS. Diary. Wisner's Hist. Old South Ch. p. 8.

§ John Allin, John Higginson, John Ward, John Wilson, Edmund Browne, Samuel Whiting, sen., Thomas Cobbett, John Sherman, Samuel Phillips, Thomas Shepard, Increase Mather, Samuel Torrey, Zachary Symmes, John Brocke, Edward Bulkley, Samuel Whiting, Jr., and John Hale.

only parts of the letters from his church there to the Boston church, as an attempt to deceive. A reply follows from the three persons thus implicated by the authority of their church. They deny that the letters and passages suppressed, give evidence that the church of New Haven refused to grant Mr. Davenport a dismission, but that they were unwilling to make such dismission their immediate act. On account of this controversy, Hutchinson says: "Two parties were produced, not in the other churches only, but in the State also." The Magnalia observes: "The whole people of God throughout the Colony were too much distinguished into such as favored the old church, and such as favored the new church; whereof the former were against the Synod, and the latter were for it." Randolph subsequently wrote to London:* "There was a great difference between the old church and members of the new church about baptism, and their members joining in full communion with either church. This was so high, that there was imprisoning of parties and great disturbances." Such imprisonment does not appear to have been for illegal worship, because the far larger portion of the Colonists considered that the seceding church were right, but for some other ground of difference. There is no question but the great excitement against the First church arose chiefly from Mr. Davenport's opposition to the Synod's recommendation of the half-way Covenant.

16. A letter from Mr. Davenport and his colleague† is read to the Salem church. It desires that they would not think uncharitably of them. Mr. Higginson observes that, as the dissenting members had become a church, by a Council composed of representatives from five churches, according to the advice of two other Councils, he perceived no need of doing any thing about the communication.

19. The General Court‡ being informed that *De Imitatione Christi*, "written by Thomas a Kempis, a Popish minister, wherein is conteyned some things that are less safe to be infused among the people of this place, doe commend it to the licensers of the press, the more full revisall thereof, and that in the meane time there be no further progresse in that worke."

They release Edward Dunker from prison, where he had been put, for assembling on the Sabbath, March 7, to worship with Baptists at the house of Thomas Gould. They state to him, that if he repeat the offense, he shall be confined for trial.

25. Magistrates object to the deputies' presenting their thanks§ to Mr. Davenport for his late Election Sermon, because it had many passages "ill resented by the Reverend Elders of other churches and many serious persons."

* Randolph's Letter to the Bishop of London. † First Ch. Rec. Annals of Salem, p. 237. ‡ Gen. Ct. Rec. § Mass. Archives. Eccl. vol. i. p. 7.

1662.]

June 20. Samuel,* son of William Brackenbury, of Malden, grad. at Harvard College, 1664, afterwards physician in Boston, where he died of small pox, 1677, receives a call to preach one year at Rowley, which he accepts.

26. William Woodward,† whom Hull calls "a young but powerful preacher," dies at Dedham. He assisted Mr. Allen in pulpit labors, for which his brother Peter claimed £40 after his decease.

29. Some of the Quakers belonging to Salem are fined for non-attendance on the public worship, required by law. John Blevin and Robert Gray, of their number, are imprisoned for not giving security. Tamson, the widow of Robert Buffum,‡ of the same town, had been appointed administratrix of his estate; but, as Gertrude Pope and Elizabeth Kitchen, of the Friends, and witnesses to his will, would only testify and not swear to its correctness, it was not allowed to remain on file."

July 4. On the 29th ult., while the First church of Boston were in session, to satisfy some who remained dissatisfied as to the two letters concerning Mr. Davenport and the New Haven church, "they put forth all the sisters," which is now brought up at the Lord's Supper. To show that he intended no ill, Mr. Allen declared that what he did on the occasion was in the integrity of his heart. Elder Penn assented to the same position.

15. The Rowley church records contain a statement, which signifies that many charged the Elders of the First Boston church with deception; because they construed the letter from Hartford church as granting a dismissal of Mr. Davenport from the pastoral oversight of them. It is evident that his opinion, expressed against the half-way covenant, had rendered him unpopular with most professors of religion, who were thereby more easily inclined to indulge suspicions unfavorable to his reputation.

24. Eleazar, son of Richard Mather, and minister of Northampton, dies.§ He was born May 13, 1637, grad. H. Coll: 1656, and ordained June 23, 1661. His age, of course, was over thirty-two years. He married a daughter of the Rev. John Warham, who became the wife of the Rev. Solomon Stoddard. He left an only daughter, who married the Rev. John Williams, and a son, Warham, grad. H. C. 1685, who, in 1688, preached at Northfield. After his decease, an exhortation to the future and present generation, collected from his last sermons, was published 1671. He was eminent for talents, learning and piety; a zealous and successful preacher of the gospel.

August 16. The First church of Boston vote, that "our honoured magistrates do draw up instructions for Capt. Clarke to New Haven,

* Rowley Ch. Rec.
Ct. Rec. Annals of Salem, p. 237.

† Tamson's Centennial, p. 26.

‡ Essex Qt.

§ Magnalia, b. iii. ch. 20, p. 130.

that they might declare their owning of the Letter sent from them to their church to be a true dismission for Mr. Davenport."

20. They vote, that a Committee answer a communication from Dedham church "inquiring after the proceeding of the church about a letter or letters from the church of New Haven."

25. They meet to hear such a reply,* and "unanimously concur with it as their own mind."

This summer, as a serious interruption to missionary labors, six or seven hundred of the New England Indians, who had been at war with the Maquas, or Mohawks, about seven years, march into the country of the latter. Eliot and Gookin advised them against the expedition. Not more than five of the praying Indians went with them, and only one of these lived to return.

After much delay, the assailants reached the fort of their enemies, who had strengthened and stored it with provisions for a siege. The Maquas made a sally, in which several were killed on both sides. Some days after this, the besiegers, perceiving that their supplies of food and ammunition were nearly exhausted, and some of their forces sick, retreated towards home. When they had come about thirty miles, they were ambushed by the Mohawks, and had fifty or more of their chiefs, besides others, slain in the conflict. The survivors at last got to their several places of abode, much disheartened at their defeat and losses. They were enabled, by influence of the English and Dutch, two years or more after, to make a peace with the dreaded Mohawks.†

26. The new church of Boston apply to the selectmen‡ for leave to build a house of worship. Such authorities vote that "there is need of another meeting house to be erected in this town," which is taken as a permission. The application for this liberty was occasioned by opposition which the seceders met with from Governor Bellingham, a member of the First church, when he understood that they had taken measures to build. He called together his Council for advice, as he observed, "fearing a sudden tumult," if such a purpose was carried into effect. They, however, decided that it was not best for them to interfere, but let the law, with regard to such matters, take its course.

October 9. The First church of Boston§ attend to the following business: "Upon hearing the letters read from New Haven in answer to a letter of two of the elders to them, it was voted unanimously that the church doth stand to the former vote and judgment in the case of the elders, about the extracting the sense of the letters dismissive." They agree to call Mr. Oxenbridge, who had been so addressed by Charlestown church, to assist "the

* First Boston Ch. Rec. † Gookin. Mass. Hist. Soc. Coll. vol. i. p. 166, 7.

‡ Hutchinson, 3 ed. vol. i. p. 248, 9. Wisner's Hist. of Old South Church. Hull states that the meeting-house was erected in November of this year.

§ MS. Rec.

1670.]

present teaching officers in preaching the word of God." They grant dismission to Mr. Thacher and his wife to the Charlestown church.

12. The General Court, in their appointment of Thanksgiving for the 17th of the next month, speak as though a famine threatened the Colony the preceding summer by excessive rains.

29. The new church of Boston desire* John Hull, bound to England, to obtain a minister there, as colleague with Mr. Thacher. On the 4th of November, nineteen ministers address a letter by Mr. Hull to ministers and brethren of the Congregational order in that kingdom, for a similar purpose. On the 8th, Mr. Thacher and twenty-seven brethren of his new church sign a letter with a like direction and object.

December 13. The First church of Boston† vote "that the elders should go from house to house to visit the families, and see how they are instructed in the grounds of religion."

This year Michael Wigglesworth, of Malden, published a poem on the sanctification of afflictions.

1670. January 12. The Third church of Boston keep a day of fasting and humiliation when they elected Thomas Thacher for their minister, Edward Rainsford for ruling elder, Jacob Eliot and Peter Brackett for deacons, and designate the 16th of February for their induction into office. This appointment was complied with by ministers of the Bay, but Mr. Phillips, of Rowley,‡ noted that he was unable to attend, because there was so much snow. The First church of Boston, whence the Third church had seceded, were invited to take part in these solemnities, but they declined.

February 2. Benjamin Bunker, minister of Malden, dies. He was son of George and Judith Bunker, of Charlestown, born 1635, graduated at Harvard College, 1658, and ordained December 9, 1663.

Michael Wigglesworth wrote of the deceased :

"He was another Timothy,
That, from his very youth,
With holy writ acquainted was,
And versed in th' word of truth ;
Who, as he grew to riper years,
He also grew in grace ;
And as he drew near his end,
He mended still his pace."

13. A paper of the Woodman party, as a reply to charges made against them lately by Mr. Parker, in a congregation of the town and church of Newbury, is read on the Sabbath in the meeting house, by John Webster, for which he was prosecuted. But all that the verdict of the jury affirmed was, that he did so act.

* Arch. Americana, vol. iii. p. 308-12. † MS. Rec. ‡ Rowley Ch. Rec.

March 15. John Davenport, pastor of the First church in Boston, dies of an apoplexy, in his seventy-third year. The rest which he had here from his trials in the union of New Haven with Connecticut, was short and much disturbed by the division among his last people, because he left his previous charge. Hubbard remarks of him, that he was "a person beyond exception and compare for all ministerial abilities; and upon that account highly esteemed and accepted in both Englands." His position, that the Regicide Judges, so called, should be protected by the people of New Haven, when pursued, 1661, by royal agents, was a principal means of preserving the former from apprehension and execution. His portrait is in the museum of Yale College. He published many able productions* on subjects of his profession. Mr. Davenport cherished elevated purposes, made large sacrifices, and acted nobly for the benefit of New England, who should ever cherish his memory with sentiments of strong gratitude and high esteem. The *Magnalia* assigns to him the following epitaph: "Safely in port. In life, the ornament of New England and the church; dead, the object of their common regret."

16. The opponents of Mr. Parker, calling themselves the church, send him a paper, declaring that they have deposed him from the ministry. In the evening, they notified him that they had chosen two ruling elders, and that they intended to invite the neighboring churches to come and help ordain in one week. Mr. Parker sent them an exhortation to cease from such proceedings, as very irregular. Several communications of like tenor passed between him and his opponents.

April. The subsequent transactions† are of rare occurrence in church discipline. The wives‡ of brethren who belonged to Mr. Thacher's church, having partaken of the Lord's Supper with them, request the First church to release them from their covenant engagements. On the 24th, a reply is voted for these sisters, which says: "We cannot have communion with such of ours at the Lord's table, who have and do communicate with them" of the new church, "until they give us satisfaction." On the 1st of August, the last church propose an amicable adjustment of difficulties with the other church. They say in this connection, we entreat you "to dismiss unto us those who, being of our mind, have still held communion with us." On the 15th of May, 1671, the First church had not

* See a list of his publications, etc., in Bacon's *Hist. Discourses*, p. 389, 90.

† Wisner's *Hist.* p. 11, 82-4. Old South Ch. MSS.

‡ Their names follow: Mrs. Margaret Thacher, Mrs. Elizabeth Gibbs, now Cowin, (Corwin,) Mrs. Mary Norton, Hannah Frarye, Mary Salter, Mrs. Judith Hull, Mrs. Mary Savage, now Stoddard, Ranis Belcher, Elizabeth Rainsford, Sara Pemberton, Elizabeth Thurston, Sara Walker, Mary Tappan, Elizabeth Alden, Elizabeth Roocke, (Ruck?) Sara Oliver, Mary Eliot, Mary Bracket, Susanna Dawes, Joanna Mason, Alice Harper, Mrs. Rachel Rawson, Sara Bodman, (Bordman?)

1670.]

complicated ; but they then suspended Sarah Pemberton, one of the women for whom the request was made. On the 28th of May, 1674, a Council* assemble to consider the question proposed by the new church, "What is our duty towards those members of the old church, who were and still are secluded from communion with that church in the sacrament of the Lord's Supper, only because of their participation with us therein, and who also desire to join in church fellowship with us." The Council, after stating the reasons, decide that "such members may join, and such a church unto whom they desire to join may receive them into their fellowship."

10. John Oxenbridge† is chosen pastor, and John Wiswell ruling elder, of the First church in Boston. The latter was admitted a member of the church on the same day.

19. The Council who met November 5, at Newbury,‡ about the troubles there, assemble again. A document from the Woodman side states that they have spent more than twenty-five years in contention, whereby religion has been injured, and the church "defamed throughout the country as an unquiet people." They desire the Council to cancel any decision they may have signed against them, and act impartially as a mutual Council. They assert that the great cause of difficulty with them is that they will not turn Presbyterians ; that they are called "decliners to Levelism and Morellianism," though true Congregationalists. Having heard both parties, the Council came to the result, 22d, that they should comply with the platform of discipline practiced by the churches of New England and some other relative considerations. Such advice was accepted and complied with for a season, but the truce was broken in the course of the year.

May 11. Samuel Danforth, of Roxbury, preaches the election sermon. His subject was, "A Brief Recognition of New England's Errand into the Wilderness." It has a preface by Thomas Shepard, of Charlestown. The doctrine, "Such as have sometime left their pleasant cities and habitations to enjoy the pure worship of God in a wilderness, are apt in time to abate and cool in their affections thereunto ; but then the Lord calls upon them seriously and thoroughly to examine themselves." The preacher expresses his regret at the variety and diversity of prevalent opinions. He applies this to his audience, as representatives of the country. He calls on them to reform, commit themselves to the protection of Christ, and follow him, as the best suppression of their own evil propensities, and the most efficient conquest of their "many adversaries."

* Their names are—Samuel Whiting, sen., John Eliot, Peter Hobart, Thomas Cobbett, John Sherman, William Hubbard, John Higginson, John Wilson, Jeremiah Hubbard, Samuel Phillips, Joseph Rowlandson, Seaborn Cotton, John Hale.

† Rec. First Ch. of Boston.

‡ Coffin's Newbury, p. 86, 7.

During the session, several orders are passed. Any person, who brings cards and dice into the Jurisdiction, or knowingly receives or retains them, shall be fined five pounds. In view of prevailing evils, as selfishness, jealousy, backbiting, pride, luxury, oppression, intemperance and other vices, neglect to instruct the young, and support the ministers of some places, disregard for the privileges of Commonwealth and Church, and decay of love to God, a Fast is appointed the 16th of June.*

The Committee who reported on prevailing evils,† mention the invasion of church privileges, usurpation of power over God's heritage and disregard for gospel order, as among them. They were distinctly understood as aiming, in such language, at the Third church of Boston, and the ministers who had a hand in their organization. To make their meaning positive, they close with a "notice of the late transaction of churches and elders in constituting the Third church of Boston, as irregular, illegal and disorderly." The House adopt the report. This increased the public excitement. The next election of the Legislature turned chiefly on the question, Who are for the old church, and who for the new? Most of the members, who had favored the report against the latter church, were not chosen.

With reference to such a report, Rev. Mr. Flint, of Dorchester, wrote as follows in his diary: "A spirit of division, persecuting and oppressing God's ministers and precious saints, is the sin which is unseen and none bears witness against. It is a great sin and threatens a sword of divine wrath. God's seers fear it, and their bowels and compassions are moved at it." The Legislature, next year, recalled the expressions, which censured the respectable ministers who stood for the new church.

The question, whether a man may marry the sister of his deceased wife, is decided by the Court in the negative. Messrs. Bradstreet, Danforth and Leverett, are chosen a Committee, invested with full power to treat with the Commissioners of Connecticut and Plymouth, about the renewal of articles for the government of the Union. Captain Thomas Marshall, of Lynn, is to lose his commission for marrying people, because he had been too credulous and had married Mr. Deacon to Hope Allen's daughter.

June. The First church of Salem concludes that the time for admitting members should be at the close of the sermon in the afternoon. It was customary with them for candidates to stand propounded one month before they were received.

2. Commissioners of the united Colonies,‡ Connecticut, Massachusetts and Plymouth, agree on fifteen articles, as the basis of their subsequent administration, and to be laid before each of their Gen-

* Gen. Ct. Rec.

† Hutchinson, 3 ed. vol. i. p. 248, 9.

‡ Hazard's Coll. vol. ii. p. 511-16.

1670.]

eral Courts for consideration and approval. The commencement runs thus:—"Whereas we all came into these parts of America with one and the same end and aim, viz. : to advance the kingdom of our Lord Jesus Christ, and to enjoy the liberties of the Gospel in purity and peace;" and as we have settlements of other nations nigh us, and Indians have several times conspired against us, and our native country is so far off as not to give help, which may be needed, we count it our duty and safety "to enter into Confederation for mutual help and succor in all our future concerns, that in Nation and Religion, so in other respects, we be and continue one." They do this in accordance with fifteen articles. They agree to be called "The United Colonies of New England," as was done in 1643. They "enter into a firm and perpetual league of frindship and amity, mutual advice and succor upon all just occasions, both for preserving and propagating the truth and liberties of the Gospel, and for their own mutual safety and welfare." Two commissioners from each Colony, "being all in church fellowship," shall be appointed for the government of the Union. One of their duties was to ascertain "how all the Jurisdictions may carry it towards the Indians, that they neither grow insolent nor be injured without due satisfaction," and another to have run-away servants and fugitive criminals restored. Three or more of the Commissioners, at a duly notified meeting of the year, may dispose of "the Indian stock," or transact business of the missions, keep a record of these and report at the annual session of the whole Board.

28. The Essex County Court* lay fines on some of the Quakers, and order attachments of property, belonging to others, so that they may be compelled to appear and answer accusations.

September 30. Under this date, John Eliot writes† to Robert Boyle, President of the Missionary Corporation, in London: "You have added no small encouragement unto me, in that worthy gift, which your honour is pleased to bestow on me, viz., Pool's Synopsis, or Critica Sacra upon the whole Bible, which, though it be not yet come, is under the care and faithful hand of my worthy friend, Mr. Ashurst." With regard to the Indians, probably at Natick, Mr. Eliot observes: "I have undertaken a kind of academical reading unto them, in their own language, thereby to teach the teachers and rulers and all that are desirous of learning." "I have some thoughts, if God give life and means, to read medicine, and call for such roots (for they altogether use the root, and not the herb) as they have experience of; especially had I wherewith to recompense any, that being a desirable experiment." He speaks as though many of the principal Indians came "a great way" to attend on such occasions. He mentions a remarkable event, as to multitudes of fish, which died this summer, in a pond at Watertown; that as many as could

* MS. Rec.

† Birch's Life of Boyle, p. 430-2.

get to the shore did, and there died ; that cattle around refused, for three days, to drink the water. He states that he had written to the Commissioners about his missionary labors, who would send him a similar account.

October 10. For the peace and liberty * which the Colony yet enjoy, and for a favorable harvest, the 24th of November is set apart for a Thanksgiving.

Rebecca, the former wife of Matthew Craddock, and now the wife of Benjamin Whitecot, D. D., petitions, with the latter, for claims which her first husband had against the Massachusetts Company. Though the Court do not feel that, under existing circumstances, such demands should be liquidated by the Colony, still, in view of Craddock's great disbursements for the promotion of its welfare, they grant the petitioners one thousand acres of land.

The Articles of Confederation,† as agreed on by Commissioners June 2, are presented and accepted, with a few amendments, by the General Court.

November 30. Edward Drinker, belonging to the Baptist church of Boston, writes‡ to John Clarke and his church in Newport, Rhode Island. He relates that William Turner, of their persuasion, is imprisoned in Boston, and that two warrants are issued for the apprehension of Gould, when he comes to town from his residence on Noddle's Island. He assigns as the cause of such severity, that these two brethren did not move away according to the order of 1668, passed by the General Court. He remarks that all the Deputies, "except one or two," voted that Turner and Gould should be cleared from responsibility in the premises, but the magistrates non-concurred. He says: "The town and country is very much troubled at our troubles ; and especially the old church in Boston, and their Elders, both Mr. Oxenbridge and Mr. Allen have labored abundantly, I think as if it had been for their best friends in the world. Many more gentlemen and solid Christians are for our brother's deliverance ; but it cannot be had ; a very great trouble to the town ; and they had gotten six magistrates' hands for his deliverance, but could not get the Governor's hand to it. Some say one end is, that they may prevent others coming out of England ; therefore, they would discourage them by dealing with us." The writer proceeds to inform his friends, that their society worship on Noddle's Island, and some persons have been added to their church ; that John Russell, senior, is another of their Elders ; that he lives at Woburn, where there are five brethren who can meet with him, when they are unable to assemble at the Island, and more of that town are reported as agreeing with them in opinion.

John Eliot writes to Mr. Ashurst, treasurer of the Missionary

* Gen. Ct. Rec.

† Ibid.

‡ Backus, vol. i. p. 398-400.

1670.]

Corporation, woolen draper, in Aldersgate street: "Our church at Natick have sent forth divers to sundry places to invite their countrymen to pray unto God. Though it be a stormy and tempestuous seed-time, yet it is better to bring forth the greater harvest of saints and believers. Though their adversaries think of no such matter, but only how they may extirpate them—a poor afflicted people, coming out of great tribulation, will be fit matter for the kingdom of Christ."

This year there were about fifty-five churches* and eight thousand communicants in the Colonies of Massachusetts and Plymouth.

The Indians† at Pawtucket, on the Merrimack River, begin to have the gospel preached among them. In reference to this, Wannalancet, the chief, said to Eliot and Gookin, May 5, 1674: "Sirs, you have been pleased for four years last past, in your abundant love, to apply yourselves particularly unto me and my people, to exhort, press and persuade us to pray to God."

Tawanquatyck or Tawauquatick‡ was the chief sachem at the east end of Martha's Vineyard, where the English settled, 1642, and the first one of his rank who became a Christian there. Desirous to accommodate them with land, he was opposed by several of his council, called in Indian, Ahloskouag. To quiet these opposers, he gave them parts of his sachemship, and then sold a considerable portion of what he reserved for himself, to the English, so that they might settle on what was called Edgartown. He was at the house of Miohgsoo or Myoxos, when Iliacoomes preached there, 1646, and he soon after invited Mr. Mayhew to preach for his tribe, and he himself was one of his constant hearers. Several wise conversations of his were noted by his pastor, and a remarkable escape he had from being killed for his decided support of the gospel. He took a prominent part among the praying Indians in signing a covenant drawn up by Mr. Mayhew, as they requested him, in their own language, That they would serve the true God and him only. At this time he did the same for having a Christian government formed for the Indians, according to the Word of God, which was subsequently done. When this was accomplished, he was constituted a Christian magistrate, and long dutifully discharged its duties, who had ruled as an Indian sachem amid the darkness and corruptions of heathenism. When the time of his departure came, in the year at the head of this notice, he had witnessed a good profession, and was ready to lay down his life.

John Tackanash,§ as before stated, was ordained teacher with Iliacoomes. His residence was at Nunpang, on the east end of Martha's Vineyard. His natural and acquired talents were

* Biblical Repository and Quarterly Observer, 1835, p. 210.

† Mass. Hist. Coll. 1 s. vol. i. p. 187.

‡ E. Mayhew, Indian Converts, p. 80-82.

§ Ibid. p. 14-16.

more than common for his countrymen, and his deportment adorned the doctrines of the gospel. These fellow-laborers in the most important work of men, continued harmoniously to redeem their ordination pledges. As members of the church resided several miles apart, at different places, and thus they found it difficult to assemble so fully as they wished, it was concluded well for them to separate. Hiacoomes and Joshua Mamachegin, one of the Ruling Elders, took charge of those who resided at Chappequiddick; Tackanash and John Nohnoso did the like as to those resident on the main island of the Vineyard. This separation continued until age prevented Hiacoomes from preaching statedly, and then the two churches united under Tackanash, with whom the English as well as the Indians were much satisfied, the pastor rendering the teacher assistance as his infirmities allowed. Tackanash perseveringly, closely and successfully applied himself to the appropriate studies of his profession like an Anglo-Saxon, and thus disproved the unexceptionable remark, that none of his American race ever so approved themselves. "For a preacher, no Indian in these parts has been thought to come up to him." After a lingering illness, which seems to have been consumption, he died January 22, 1684, and was buried the next day; a large collection met to mourn his departure, and two addresses, suitable to the occasion, were offered by Japhet, a pious native, and Hiacoomes.

PLYMOUTH.

1667. March. The town allowed at Wannamoiset, is called Swansea. Thomas Willett, one of the principal inhabitants, had proposed several rules,* on which individuals were to be admitted among them. Such regulations were accepted. They follow. "That no erroneous person be admitted into the township either as an inhabitant or sojourner. That no man of any evil behavior as contentious persons, etc., be admitted. That none may be admitted, that may become a charge to the place."

The church gathered here, under John Myles, the Baptist, address Willett and other trustees of the town. They agree to carry on the township, as the conditions prescribed. They explain the first rule to exclude those holding the subsequent denials of "the Trinity or any person thereof; the Deity or sinless humanity of Christ, or the union of both natures in him, or his full satisfaction to the divine justice by his active and passive obedience for all his

* MS. Papers of Mass. Hist. Soc. Baylies' Hist. of Plym. vol. ii. p. 236-9.

1667.]

elect, or his resurrection, ascension to heaven, intercession, or his second personal coming to judgment; or else of the truth or divine authority of any part of canonical Scripture, or the resurrection of the dead, or to maintain any merit of works, consubstantiation, transubstantiation, giving adoration to any creature, or any other anti-christian doctrine, thereby directly opposing the priestly, prophetic, or kingly office of Christ, or any part thereof."

They explain the second rule to exclude such as deny the right of magistrates to govern, punish the evil and protect the good; as deny the first day of the week as the Lord's or Christian Sabbath; the giving of honor to whom it is due, and the allowance of civil manners, as bowing the knee, body, etc.; as deny the office of the ministry, its comfortable maintenance, and reproach the churches of Christ in the country or others like them.

They desire it to be understood, that this contract does not exclude persons who hold opinions not essential to salvation, "such as pedobaptism, anti-pedobaptism, church discipline, or the like; but that the minister or ministers of the said town may take their liberty to baptize infants or grown persons, as the Lord shall persuade their consciences, and so, also, the inhabitants to take their liberty to bring their children to baptism, or forbear." Such articles were agreed to by the church and Willett, with his associates. They carried difficulty* in their appearance, and required much Christian forbearance to be rendered practicable.

March 5. Mr. Samuel Seabury† having, by written and other means, defamed "the ministry of Duxbury," is before the Legislature and warned by them "to desist from such disturbing practices."

William Lumpkin and Peter Worden, for disturbance at the Yarmouth meeting-house, are fined 10/ each. Arthur Howland, Jr., for making an offer of marriage to "Mistress Elizabeth Prince," and "prosecuting the same" contrary to her parents' "mind and wish," is fined £5, and required to give bonds that he will desist from such conduct.

June 5. Robert Pinion is taken up as a vagrant and publicly whipped, and ordered to depart immediately, with a pass from the Government.

The General Court give instructions for the Commissioners of Plymouth, that if the Confederation continue, it be kept better. They express a preference for its continuance.

July 2. Messrs. Myles and Brown, for breach of order in holding a religious meeting† without leave of the Court, are each fined £5, and Mr. Tanner 20/., and the Court add: "We judge that

* Mass. Gen. Ct. MS. Before July 9, 1711, a part of the people in Swanzezy petitioned the Legislature that the town might be divided "because they did not enjoy the true gospel and ordinances." The Baptists, opponents of their petition, of course did not agree with their reasons.

† Plymouth Colony Record,

‡ Ibid.

their continuance at Rehoboth being very prejudicial to the peace of that church and that town, may not be allowed, and do therefore order all persons concerned therein, wholly to desist from the said meeting in that place or township within this month, yet, in case they should remove their meeting unto some other place, where they may not prejudice any other church, and shall give us any reasonable satisfaction respecting their principles, we know not but they may be permitted by this Government so to do."

The General Court, on the 5th of June,* considered a charge against Philip, sachem of Pockanocket, by a Narragansett sachem, that he was "in compliance with the French against the English of New England." They then designated Lt. Hunt and Ensign Smith to visit Warwick, and require Philip to give them a meeting before one of the magistrates there. They also ordered "that Ninnegret have notice thereof, that so he may understand what is charged against him." Philip now appears before the Legislature of Plymouth, to answer the accusation of perfidy by "importing his readiness to comply with French and Dutch against the English, and so not only recover the lands sold to the English, but also enrich himself with their goods." He denies this charge, though there is strong proof that he would do as accused, if opportunity offered. He is charged with £40, as the expense of persons sent to ascertain the reports on this subject. His arms, which had been delivered up and were at Plymouth and Rehoboth, are returned to him.

If any estates are attached for the ministers' rates, they shall be put in the hands of such persons as each town appoint, and they shall dispose of the same at their discretion.

The towns are advised by the Court to make contributions for "printing of the History of God's dispensations towards New England in general; in special towards this Colony." This, as we know, was Morton's Memorial.

September 5. At a session of the Commissioners† for the three Colonies in Hartford, a letter from Plymouth to Massachusetts, dated June 21, 1665, is read. This communication gave reasons why the Confederation could not be continued as it had been under four. The same subject now comes up, and is deferred to the consideration of the several General Courts.

Mr. Bourne, of Sandwich, still preaches to Indians. He has two Indian schoolmasters among them. Ten pounds are handed the Governor of Plymouth, to distribute among the most deserving Indians.

Nicholas Nicarson appears before the General Court to answer for speaking against a sermon of Thomas Thornton, and he engages to confess his fault publicly, and particularly at the Yarmouth meeting-house, and also promises to reform.

* Plym. Col. Rec. and Laws.

† Hazard, vol. ii. p. 502, 3, 3.

1668.]

November 30. John Cotton, who had been invited* to preach at Plymouth, September, 1666, but could not before, moves to this place with his family, and dispenses the gospel to them.

1668. March. We are told by Baylies, that Noah, son of Samuel Newman, is settled among the people of his father at Rehoboth. The next December, he is voted a salary of £40 and firewood. A committee are designated "to see the order accomplished, and to speak to them who were defective in not doing their duty." As in 1671, his salary had not been paid, it was ordered that such dues be discharged by contributions every Sabbath.

March 5. Joseph Turner,† "for publishing a scurrilous and infamous writing" in verse, "is sentenced to be publicly whipped, or pay a fine of five pounds."

Francis, the sachem of Nausett, for his inhuman conduct towards Capt. Allen, when cast away on Cape Cod, is committed to prison and fined £10.

Nathaniel Soule, for speaking disrespectfully of John Holmes, minister of Duxbury, is sentenced to be set in the stocks, make a public confession, and give bonds to keep the peace. The first of these requisitions was not executed, at the desire of Mr. Holmes, but the other two were performed.

June 3. Edward Gray, for reviling John Bryant, the son-in-law to Stephen Bryant, of Plymouth, on the Lord's day, as soon as they came out of the meeting, is fined 10/.

Five persons are fined for excessive drinking. At the earnest request of William Tubbs to be divorced from his wife, Marcy, who had refused to live with him "for a long time," and who resided in Rhode Island; the Court direct a letter to the Government there, desiring them to let her know that, if she does not return to her husband before the "first Tuesday of July next," he shall be divorced from her. At the date here assigned, Tubbs appeared and claimed such separation from his wife, she having left him for upwards of four years, and said, in view of her notification, she would never go back to him "while her eyes were open." The Legislature grant his petition.

The General Court allow the Treasurer to pay £20, besides contributions in the towns, for the paper, towards the publication of Morton's Memorial. They granted, 5th of July, £5 more if needed. The book was printed next year, by Samuel Green and Marmaduke Johnson, at Cambridge, Massachusetts, when the Legislature order a barrel of beef for the former of these two, though not his due, because he complained of a hard bargain.

October 29. For the continuance of civil and religious liberty,‡ general health and a common harvest, public Thanksgiving is ordered the 25th of November.

* Thacher's Hist. of Plym. p. 273.

† Plym. Col. Rec.

‡ Ibid.

1669. March 2. James Cole, Sen., of Plymouth,* is fined £5 for his wife Mary's selling liquor to an Indian, and also £3 for her committing a like offense during public worship on the Sabbath, with reference to five other persons.

Richard Berry, Sen., Jedediah Lambert, Benjamin Lambert and James Maker, are fined 5*l.* each, for smoking tobacco at the end of the Yarmouth meeting-house, on the Lord's day, "in the time of exercise."

June 1. Namaskett is incorporated by the name of Middleborough, with the proviso "that a competency of land be reserved for a minister."†

Thomas Walley, pastor of the Barnstable church, preaches an Election Sermon before the General Court. His text is 8th c. of Jeremiah, 22d v. His subject is, "Balm in Gilead to heal Sion's Wounds, or a Treatise wherein there is a clear discovery of the most prevailing sicknesses of New England, both in the civil and ecclesiastical state; as also, suitable remedies for the cure of them." In his dedication to Governor Thomas Prince and the Assistants, the preacher observes: "I do account it a great mercy, that we have such Rulers, that we may more safely publish truth than conceal it. If we conceal it, we fall into the hands of God, but if we publish it, we are not in danger of falling into the hands of men. Worthy Senators, I may boldly publish, for the honor of God and your honor, that such hath been your labor of love in the churches, that you seem to take more delight in the unity of the churches, than in being magistrates." As he progresses in his discourse, Mr. Walley mentions the spiritual diseases which prevail. The lethargy of Christians; the burning fever or fire of contention in towns and churches; evil spirits of oppression, cruelty and covetousness, error and delusion, envy and jealousy, pride in heart and manners." He exhorts the magistrates, as healers, to extirpate profaneness, to see that Christ is preached in every waste place of the Colony, to keep the corruptions of the contentions under good laws, and to preserve the faith once committed to the saints. While on this part of his sermon, he remarks: "A well-bounded toleration was very desirable in all Christian commonwealths, that there may be no just occasion for any to complain of cruelty or persecution; but it must be such a toleration, that God may not be publicly blasphemed, nor idolatry practiced. Neither ought any error to be tolerated, that hath a tendency in its own nature to profaneness, or the disturbance of peace and order in Church or State." At the October session, the Court observed "the usefulness and seasonableness" of this discourse, and required that it should be printed. It was so issued at Cambridge, and received the imprimature of Charles Chauncy and Thomas Shepard, as licensers.

* Plym. Col. Rec.

† Ibid.

1669.]

30. John Cotton is ordained* over the First church of Plymouth. The churches represented on this occasion were those of Barnstable, Marshfield, Weymouth and Duxbury. Elder Thomas Cushman gave the charge, and the aged John Howland took part in the imposition of hands. Mr. Walley prayed, and Mr. Torrey gave the right hand of fellowship. As suggested by the late Election Sermon, the ruling elder and the pastor soon made it their special care to visit all the families in town, and converse with them on their spiritual concerns. When Mr. Cotton was first settled, there were forty-seven members of his church in full communion. He remarked, "The work of God seemed in those days to have a considerable revival."

July 5. At the General Court, the following orders† are passed:

None to sell wine, liquor, cyder or beer, by retail, without a license.

"Profane singing, dancing or revelling," in licensed ordinaries, are forbidden on penalty of ten shillings for each.

"None shall vote in town meetings but freemen, or freeholders, of £20 rateable estate, and of good conversation, having taken the oath of fidelity."

"Whereas great inconvenience hath arisen by single persons being for themselves, and not betaking themselves to live in well-governed families," no such person shall live by himself, or in any family not approved by the selectmen.

They who neglect to pay their ministerial taxes, shall be summoned to the next Court, and, if having no good excuse for such delay, shall be amerced double the sum of their assessments.

Constables shall look diligently after those who sleep or play about the meeting-house, in time of worship on the Sabbath. If such offenders do not reform, their names shall be returned to the Court.

They who ride violently, when there is no need, on the Lord's day, shall be alike reported. They who then smoke tobacco within two miles of the meeting-house, going to or coming from public worship, shall pay twelve pence for each default.

William Randall, Sen.,‡ for "villifying the government by opprobrious speeches," is fined £5.

October. Philip Leonard, Arthur Howland, William Norkett and William Hinckman, are complained of for refusing to pay ministerial rates.

This year, the town of Plymouth vote, that the selectmen§ procure a school-master, and settle him as near the centre as may be convenient. Each scholar who learns to write or cypher, or studies Latin, shall pay three pence a week. If he learn to read only, he

* Thacher's Hist. Plym. p. 273. Baylies' Plym. Colony, vol. ii. p. 252, 3.

† Plym. Col. Records—Laws.

‡ Ibid.

§ Thacher's Hist. Plym. p. 303.

shall pay three half-pence a week, and what remains due to the school, to be levied by rate on the inhabitants.

1670. January. The Plymouth church* commence a monthly meeting for religious conference, on the Saturday afternoon before the sacramental communion. Dr. Thacher states that these meetings were continued "many years," and were very useful.

February 7. Extracts from the will† of an Indian, converted to the faith of the gospel, follow. His will of this date was presented 1st of March. His name was Nanquit Numacke, of Penquinhole, alias Wesqueeb. "I commit my soul into the hands of Jesus Christ, my Saviour, whom I do believe loveth me and gave himself for me to redeem me from the sting of death." He requests to be buried in the English manner. "I desire that my children after me, may choose the Lord for their God and to walk in his ways, for which end I desire to leave my children in the hands of the Lord Jesus." What a marked contrast to the language of heathenism, and to that of multitudes born and educated in gospel communities!

March 1. Nathaniel Fitsrandall is fined 4s. for refusing to pay half this sum for the ministry at Barnstable.

26. "Mist'is Alice, widow of Governor Bradford, changed this life for a better, having attained to fourscore years of age, or thereabouts. She was a godly matron and much loved while she lived, and lamented though aged when she died, and was honourably interred on the 29th day of the month aforesaid, at New Plymouth."

June 7. The General Court assemble.‡ On the subject of ministers' salaries, they express themselves as follows: "Forasmuch as it appeareth to be greatly inconvenient, that the ministers should be troubled to gather in the rates for their maintenance; and may be an occasion to prejudice some persons against them or their ministry, it is enacted by this Court, that, at June Courts yearly, two meet persons in each town be appointed by the said Court, unless the towns have already provided, who shall take care for the gathering in of their ministers' maintenance for that year, by inciting of the people to their duty in that respect, demanding it when due, and, if need be, by procuring distraint upon the estate of any that shall neglect or refuse to pay their rates. In case any minister shall scruple to receive what is so raised, it shall nevertheless be gathered as abovesaid, and be disposed as the Court shall order for the good of the place." They make the subsequent declaration. "Whereas it hath been and is the pious care and true intent of this Court, that all such plantations and townships as are by them granted, should maintain the public Sabbath worship of God and the preaching of the word, and do, to that end, afford them such

* Thacher's Hist. Plym. p. 273.

† Plym. Col. Rec.

‡ Ibid.

1670.]

proportion of lands, as may accommodate such a society as may be able to maintain the same; and yet, through the corruption or sinful neglect of many or most of the inhabitants of some plantations, they content themselves to live without the ministry of the word, to the great dishonor of God and danger of their souls; there being great reason to fear that many may be acted therein by worldly and covetous principles; it is by this Court enacted, that in such townships where no minister is resident, especially if it appears that the generality of the inhabitants are remiss in the obtaining of one, the General Court may and shall henceforth yearly impose a certain sum to be raised by rate upon the inhabitants of such plantations or townships, which shall be kept as a stock for building a meeting-house, or for encouragement of a minister to labor among them, or other such pious uses as the Court may improve it in for their good."

The Court require £15 to be assessed on Dartmouth* for religious purposes. This being neglected, was repeated next year. They pass a law, that the Selectmen of each town, or any one of them, may take a constable or his deputy, "and repair to any house or place where they may suspect that any slothfully do lurk at home, or get together in company to neglect the public worship of God or profane the Lord's day, and finding any such disorder, shall return the names of the persons" so offending, to the next Court for inquiry.

It was generally agreed, that the confederation† of Plymouth with Massachusetts and Connecticut, "shall remain as it did formerly with three."

Thomas Pope, for vilifying the ministry, is fined 10/., and William Randall, Sen., John Palmer and Henry Ewell, of Scituate, are prosecuted for neglecting to pay ministerial rates. Capt. Nathaniel Thomas is ordered to pay £2 for a similar neglect at Marshfield.

July 5. Robert Harper, for censuring Rev. Thomas Walley, is ordered to be whipped at the post.

August 3. James Skiff, late of Sandwich,‡ but now of the Vineyard, is divorced from his wife Elizabeth, daughter to Mr. Neighbor Cooper, of Boston, because she had forsaken him, gone to Roanoke, Virginia, and taken another man for her husband.

17. The church of "praying Indians" at Marshpee,§ who sat under the preaching of Richard Bourne, are gathered.

* Brigham's Plym. Col. Laws, p. 169, 60.

† Vineyard Gen. Ct. Rec.

‡ Plym. Col. Rec.

§ Hull's Diary.

MAINE.

1667. July 31. By the Treaty concluded at Breda,* Nova Scotia is restored to the French, and thus the borderers of Maine are changed in their relations from Protestant to Catholic subjects.

1668. May 27. The authorities of Massachusetts observe† that for about three years their government of Maine had been interrupted by some who asperse them, and profess to serve his Majesty's interests. They resolve to exercise their jurisdiction over the people in the County of York, and command them to obey their laws. They require this resolution to be read in the public town meetings which they order to be held there. They appoint Nathaniel Masterson, Marshal, John Leverett, and others, Commissioners of the County.

In their instructions to these Commissioners, they say: "In case you meet with any pretending to possess other authority, or presuming to swerve from the due obedience they owe to this jurisdiction, under his Majesty's royal charter, to which they have submitted and solemnly pledged allegiance, you will bring them to trial before you, and pass sentence upon the guilty, according to the aggravation of their offenses."

June 12. Being informed of such intentions, cherished by the Bay authorities, Governor Nichols writes‡ to them from New York. His language follows: "I am not a little surprised to find that you are preparing to usurp again the government of Maine, at a time, too, when the rights of ownership, which have been submitted to the King by different claimants, are still awaiting his royal determination. Nor can it be unknown to you, that according to his letter of April 10, 1666, whatsoever his Commissioners might do or direct, was to be conclusive, till further commands were received from him. You possess power enough, it is true, to compel a submission of your weaker neighbors; and you may feel in duty bound to re-establish your Courts of law, in answer to the petition of a few unquiet spirits, and under a plausible pretence of restoring order and peace. But I ought not to be silent, in view of measures so directly contrary to the injunctions of his Majesty's letters. Do you presume so much on his forbearance and clemency as to suppose he will never stretch forth an arm of power to defend his subjects from usurpation?" He adds that, being about to sail for England, he must caution them against

* Martin's Hist. Brit. Col. vol. iii. p. 311.

† Mass. Gen. Ct. Rec.

‡ Hutchinson's Coll. p. 427, 8.

1668.]

breaking up the arrangements of the royal Commissioners in Maine, lest it be followed with "bitter quarrels, and even bloodshed." But the rulers of Massachusetts took very different views of this subject from what Nichols did, and persevered in their proposed course.

July 6. According to their instructions, John Leverett, Edward Tyng, and Richard Waldron, as Commissioners, reach York, "accompanied by a military escort." Richard Pike, and the other member of their body, did not attend. Mr. Joscelyn and others, as Justices of the Peace, meet them at the inn where they put up, and desire an interview with them next morning. This is granted. Leverett and his colleagues accordingly meet Joscelyn and his associates, saying they would hear but not treat with them. These read communications from Col. Nichols to the Commissioners, who reply that Massachusetts had assigned reasons to the King why they retained rule over Yorkshire. Joscelyn states, that they would learn that only five or six persons in a town of the County, were inclined to be under the Bay Authorities. The Commissioners say, We shall soon understand how this is from the returns, and we must comply with our orders to hold a Court. The Justices answer, We must also attend to ours. Leverett and those with him repair to the meeting-house, and enter on their duties. They hear the ballots for associates, who were to serve with them, "from five towns, the other two being hindered (as they said) by the Justices, yet in one of them one half of the electors sent in their votes." Thus they have decided evidence that a majority of the people wish to be under the jurisdiction of Massachusetts.

While they are so occupied, the Justices come to the outside of the door and proclaim "that all should attend to his Majesty's commands." The Commissioners order the Marshal to declare openly, "that if any had any command from his Majesty, they coming and showing it to the Court, this body was open and ready to hear the same." The Justices then enter the house and request the Commissioners to have the papers read to the assembly, which they showed them privately. Leverett and his assistants consent that it shall be done in the afternoon. Having adjourned to dine, they are informed that the Justices are going to the meeting-house, where they intend to hold an Assembly or General Court. The former request the latter to converse with them after dinner. Each party agree to do this, if both stop their proceedings until they have held such consultation. Presently after, the Justices dispatch their Marshal and another to read a paper in every public place. These two being met, so occupied, by the Commissioners, and declining to show their authority, are committed to the Marshal appointed by Massachusetts.

Leverett and those with him go to the meeting-house, find it full

of people, and the Justices in their seats. Room being made for them, they advance to Joscelyn and his supporters and say to them, "You are the authors of an affront we little expected, but your course will avail you nothing; you might have called your meeting elsewhere, and at another time. Depend upon this—we shall not be deterred from executing any part of the delegated trust, to which we are commissioned." A scene of confusion immediately ensued, some of the people beginning to speak. But the Commissioners command silence, and order their Marshal to close the Court, which as done, Joscelyn advises. They converse with the Justices, who are re-seated and repeat their wish to have the royal Mandamus of 1666, their commissions and Nichols's letter read, which Leverett and his associates agree to, except the last communication, and this they disallow because not required by the occasion. The Commissioners assert that they know the intendments of the Bay Authorities, as to the settlement of Maine, which they had begun to carry out, and, God willing, they would accomplish them. They continue: "We have declared to the people, that we were not insensible how that at the time of the interruption of the Government in 1665, by such of the King's Commissioners as were then on the place, their displeasure was manifested by telling the people that the Massachusetts were traitors and rebels and disobedient to his Majesty, the reward whereof within one year, they said, should be retributed. Yet we told them, that through the good hand of God and the King's favor, the Massachusetts were an authority to assert their right of government there, by virtue of the royal Charter, and that we did not doubt but that the Massachusetts Colony's actings for the forwarding of his Majesty's service, would outspoke others' words, where there was nothing but words for themselves or against us." Then the Justices leave the assembly. The Commissioners resume the duties of the Court, impanel the jury and administer oaths to them and the associates present. One of these, Roger Plaisted, from Kittery, inquires publicly, as he had privately, how the Government is to be reassumed, and how his constituents were to submit. He is answered as before, that it is done by virtue of the Charter, and that the towns of York will have the same privileges as those of other Counties in the Bay Jurisdiction. A petition from Scarborough is presented for an increase of immunities, and referred to the Legislature. The Commissioners attend to various calls of the occasion. They are applied to by the Justices for another conference, which is granted. The latter present a paper. Having received it, the former appoint military officers for the different towns of York County. They designate another Court for this section on the 15th of September, dissolve and leave for their homes on the 9th of July. Thus we have a specimen of the more than Spartan firmness, which the Massachu-

1669-70.]

setts authorities exhibited in opposition to the policy of royalists, who continually strove to break down their independence, based on Charter principles.*

John Joscelyn, after his second voyage to New England in 1663, resided† considerably at his brother Henry's house in Scarborough. He described the preceding transactions, in his Book of Travels, with prejudice against Massachusetts and in favor of the party who followed the instructions of the royal Commissioners. His brother Henry, a strenuous supporter of the national church, greatly damaged his estate by opposition to the Bay Authorities.

October. Among cases of presentment,‡ are fourteen for persons who absented themselves "from meeting upon the Lord's day." Two of this class are James Michimore and wife, who "pretend they go to hear Mr. Jordan." These two are admonished and discharged. Three more individuals are presented for traveling on the Sabbath. Of them, John Moshier pleads that he went to look after Mr. Lane, who was in peril of drowning. He is fined 5/. and to pay fees 5/., but if his assertion should prove true, the amount shall be returned to him.

1669. May 8. The people of Kittery agree§ that Sturgeon Creek shall be the boundary between the upper and nether parts of the town for public worship, as well as for trainings.

They vote that one hundred and fifty acres|| of land shall be laid out, for the use of the ministry, in each division of the town.

As evidence that the Episcopal party had a controlling influence in Kittery, York and Falmouth, three deputies of this denomination appear from these towns, at the General Court in Boston.

The plague and fire in London had turned away the public attention there from complaints of Massachusetts, for exercising jurisdiction over Maine, and thus occasioned a diversion in favor of the accused.

1670. May 31. The Massachusetts Legislature recommend, as the best means of increasing freemen in Maine, that each destitute parish obtain an "able, pious and orthodox minister."

The French, having taken possession of Nova Scotia,¶ including Penobscot, through Governor de Bourg, claimed the Duke of York's Patent, even to the Kennebec river. This last territory was still under the administration of Henry Joscelyn and other Justices, who had been appointed by Carr and other Commissioners of Charles II. Lovelace, the Duke's Governor of New York, was thought to be neglectful of the Kennebec territory, and the Duke himself, as well as his brother the King, were suspected of being

* Report of Commissioners. Gen. Ct. Rec. p. 401-4.

† Joscelyn's Voyages. Mass. Hist. Coll. 3 s. vol. iii. p. 343.

‡ Willis's Portland, vol. i. p. 120, 1.

§ Mass. Gen. Ct. Rec. || Kittery Rec. Greenleaf's Sketches, p. 26.

¶ Williamson, vol. i. p. 441.

Romanists at heart. These circumstances led the Bay Authorities to fear, lest they might have Popery brought again nearer to their jurisdiction than would be desirable and beneficial.

NEW HAMPSHIRE.

1667. Though the royal Commissioners had made strenuous efforts to draw off the people here from Massachusetts, still the attempt was ineffectual with the greater portion of them.

1668. April 15. As a confirmation * that Mason's claim to this Colony and other territory, is allowed by some who live in Massachusetts, William Trask, of Salem, agrees to pay the alledged proprietor a certain sum for the improvement of his house and land within Masonia. In 1686, Rev. John Higginson, of the same town, agrees to pay a quit-rent for buildings on his land at Haverhill to the same concern.

29. Still retaining their authority † over New Hampshire, as well as Maine, though strenuously resisted by the opponents of their stand in London, the Bay Legislature appoint individuals to keep Courts and otherwise act as magistrates here.

1669. April 20. John Reyner, ‡ minister of Dover, dies. In his will, he mentioned having landed estate at Gildersome, in the parish of Botley, County of York, England. He had had a life estate in "housing and lands" in Edgton and Welburn, of the same County. His first wife was a Boys from England, who left children, Jachim, and Hannah wife of Job Lane; his second wife was Frances Clarke, and children by her, John, Elizabeth, Dorothy, Abigail and Judith. The last of these children married Rev. Jabez Fox, of Woburn, and for her second husband, Col. Jonathan Tyng, and died June 5, 1736, aged ninety-eight.

Morton's MS. History of Plymouth church, says of Mr. Reyner: "He was an able, faithful, laborious preacher of the gospel, and a wise orderer of the affairs of the church. He was singularly endowed with a gift to train up children in a catechetical way in the grounds of the Christian Religion. He was sober, a lover of good men, not greedy of the matters of the world, armed with much faith, patience and meekness, mixed with courage for the cause of God." As before stated, he had been pastor of the Plymouth church. In both places, his walk accorded with the high demands of his sacred office.

May 19. An address from the inhabitants of Portsmouth is com-

* Annals of Salem, p. 232, 83.

‡ N. E. Gen. Reg. vol. ii. p. 238, 9.

† Mass. Gen. Ct. Rec.

1670.]

municated to the General Court of Massachusetts. They remark, By your means we enjoy much peace.* "Though we have artieled with yourselves for exemption from public charges, yet we never artieled with God and our own consciences for exemption from gratitude, which to demonstrate while we were studying, the loud groans of the sinking College in its present low estate, came to our ears. We have made a collection in our town of £60 per annum, and hope to make it more, for seven years." Belknap informs us, that Dover gave £32 and Exeter £10 for the like object.

1670. May 11. Under this date,† the Massachusetts Legislature make provision for the protection of New Hampshire, as a part of Norfolk County. They forbid that a ship at the Isle of Shoals, suspected to be a pirate, and taken from the French, should be suffered to remain within their jurisdiction.

RHODE ISLAND.

1667. May 10. The Governor and Council at Warwick consider‡ rumors about the unfriendly disposition of the Indians. They order those suspected, and all of them above sixteen years old, to leave the island. They thankfully answer the Commissioners of Plymouth for informing them of their proceedings as to the conspiracy of Philip and his men. They appoint a conference of deputies from the four towns, one for each, with Mossup, Cochanaquant and Ninicraft, about such reports.

July 2. The General Assembly order that a beacon be placed on Wonemytomimo hill and other parts, to give alarms, if there be insurrections of suspected enemies. Notice of trouble at Providence, on 3d of June, in the election of two sets of deputies for the Assembly, is brought forward. At the head of one party is William Harris, who had been previously disposed to pursue a course which others feared as ruinous to the order and welfare of society. The Assembly fine him £50, and discharge him from the office of Assistant. Several of the same body protest against this measure.

24. Col. Nichols writes to Governor Brenton.§ He speaks of the fine imposed on Harris. He remarks, in connection with this subject: "I hope you will reflect seasonably upon these things, which, with trouble and grief, I now write; my only design therein is to contribute my hearty, neighborly and friendly advice to your peace and prosperity, which you cannot expect till you have purged away the leaven of factious interests in your Courts and country."

* Farmer's Belknap, p. 64, 439, 40.

† Potter's Narragansett, p. 70. Rec. R. I.

‡ Mass. Gen. Ct. Rec.

§ Rec. R. I.

November 9. Samuel Gorton and Randal Holden, write to Col. Nichols, and complain of Richard Smith,* of Wickford, as using policy adverse to their rights. They say of him: "This is he, together with his accomplices, who offered indignity to noble personages, by the inhuman abuse of their effigies by word and deed upon Rhode Island."

This year, Roger Williams writes the following production:† "A Raised Lazarus Breathing Meditations, or Esau and Jacob's Mystical Harmony. In the Mystical Dialect of the New Jerusalem, the New Heaven and the New Earth."

1668. April 11. William Hiscox, Joseph Tory and Samuel Hubbard,‡ as a delegation from Mr. Clarke's church, of Newport, reach Boston. Their object is to assist their Baptist brethren, Gould, Farnum and Osborn, in a public debate there on the 14th, concerning their particular opinions, with several elders, as appointed by the Massachusetts authorities. Gould and others had been prosecuted and imprisoned for sustaining the worship of their order.

May 4. Nineteen inhabitants of Wickford,§ claimed by Rhode Island as within their charter bounds, write to the authorities of Connecticut. They state that in accordance with their petition, they were received, in 1664, under the government and protection of the latter Colony, but had been interrupted through the proceedings of the royal Commissioners. Hence they feel themselves obliged to apply for the protection|| of Connecticut once more, "being not able to live, either in our civil or ecclesiastical matters, without government, which both the honor of God and the good of the country now call upon us to seek after."

June 4. The purchasers of Petaquamscutt, of whom is John Hull, of Boston, order¶ that the income and improvement of three hundred acres belonging to it, shall be for "an orthodox person that shall be obtained to preach God's word to the inhabitants." Hull and others, constituting a majority of the proprietors, were Congregationalists, and very probably understood that no preacher would have the benefit of the grant, except of their denomination. But severe controversy and litigation subsequently arose about it, in which Dr. McSparran, an Episcopal clergyman, took a prominent part.

August 31. The town of Providence** send a remonstrance and petition to the Governor and Council. A passage of the document follows: "We pray your continuance and assistance to the General Solicitor to proceed legally with William Carpenter, William and Thomas Harris, for their treacherous speeches, and,

* They say that his father had died lately.

† MS. Mass. Hist. Soc. Coll.

‡ Backus, vol. i. p. 376.

§ Wickford was received under jurisdiction of Conn. June 20, 1670.

|| Rec. R. I.

¶ Torrey vs. Gardner Papers.

** Staples' Hist. Prov. p. 147-50.

1669.]

we suspect, actions, against his Majesty's gracious charter, and the liberties, and government, and privileges, which it hath pleased our God and the King, to the envy and astonishment of all our neighborhood, so wonderfully to bestow upon us." It states that William Harris was disfranchised by the inhabitants of Providence about twenty-four years ago, and that they had never orderly received him again; that in 1656 he issued his written communication "against all civil government, professing that it would shortly be that people should cry out, No Lords, No Masters." He turned about, and for ten years has plagued "both town and colony with lawsuits." Harris was kept imprisoned till the Quakers prevailed in the government, and he was released the 29th of next October. No doubt the letter of Col. Nichols had much influence in this discharge.

Oct. 29. John Clark is designated* to correspond with the Plymouth authorities, desiring them to restrain proceedings against land of William Blackstone.

1669. February 23. William Wickendon, on authority of Benedict, now finishes his probation. The same author mentions him as moving to Providence in 1639, but he was there 1636, and signed the first compact, 1637. He was on a committee with Gregory Dexter, both being Baptist preachers, to join similar bodies from Portsmouth, Newport and Warwick, in 1647, for forming the Government of the Colony. He was a member of the Legislature 1648, 1651 to 1655, and 1664. He seems to have been highly respected in his ministerial labors and character.

May 14. The people at Misquamacuck,† or Pawcatuck, in the Narragansett territory, being desirous to become a town, are granted their request by the Assembly, and their location is called Westerly, which is to be distinguished as the fifth town of the Colony. This settlement became the scene of perilous contests, between opposite parties, one contending that they should be under Connecticut, and another, under Rhode Island.

John Clark is requested by the Assembly to interpose between the virulent parties of Providence, and persuade them to compose their differences.

June 30. Samuel Gorton defends himself, in a paper,‡ against statements made by Morton in his Memorial, lately published. He denies that he had used language, signifying that there was no future existence of mankind; that sermons of salvation were tales; that the ordinances of the Lord were vanity; that ministers were necromancers. With respect to his own preaching, he observes: "I would have you know, that I hold my call to preach the Gospel of Christ, not inferior to any minister in this country, though I was not bred up in the schools of human learning, and I bless God

* Rec. R. I.

† Ibid.

‡ Hutchinson, 3 ed. vol. i. p. 467-70.

that I never was ; least I had been drowned in pride and ignorance, through Aristotle's principles, and other heathen philosophers, as millions are and have been, who ground their preaching of the gospel upon human principles, to the falsifying of the word of God in the ruin of men's souls. Yet this I doubt not of, but that there hath been as much true use made of the languages, within this twenty years, past, in the place where I live, as hath been in any church in New England." He speaks of his preaching, when last in the mother country, and how it was received by people and ministers. He mentions the intercourse which he had with Mr. Winslow, and how the book of the latter was criticised by John Brown.

July 20. The Governor and Council issue a warrant* to apprehend Ninigret on suspicion of a plot against the English, as indicated by a letter of the 5th inst. from Gov. Lovelace, of New York. The cause of this was, that the chief had entertained six Indians, absconded from Thomas Terry, of Block Island. Besides, notice of the 22d came to them from Plymouth, that they had sent persons to examine the chief, and ask him why he had kept with him seven of Philip's ancient men nine or ten days together, and that they suspected a plot, as Major John Mason does, between the French and almost all the Indians of the country. On the 28th, Ninigret appeared before the Authorities at Newport. He was questioned about the Indians at his residence, and a great dance he was preparing for. He gave specious replies, and said that the latter diversion was meant as a "kind of an invocation, that they might have a plentiful harvest." He was dismissed with admonition to be careful and appear again in about a month.

August 24. Francis Lovelace, of New York, writes to the Assembly,† and thanks them for particulars about the alarm lest the Indians are plotting an insurrection. He remarks that for the continuance of such correspondence, they "are not only obligated by the common ties of Christianity, but common safety and the happiness promised to all brethren living in love and unity together."

October 27. In consequence of difficulty about lands in Providence,‡ the inhabitants could not agree to choose persons sufficient to transact their own business peaceably, and to take part in the affairs of the Colony. The General Assembly depute a committee, John Easton, Joshua and John Coggeshall, William Vaughan and John Sanford, to attend a general meeting of the men there, "and endeavour to persuade them to a loving composure of their differences," and summon a meeting of the freemen to elect town officers and deputies. This committee discharged their assigned duty, but did not succeed. The Legislature appoint another committee,§ the

* Rec. R. I.

† Ibid.

‡ Staples' Hist. of Prov. p. 151, 2.

§ Rec. R. I.

1670.]

next March 22d, to visit Providence for a like purpose. These means appear to have resulted favorably.

1670. May 4. John Clark, being elected Deputy Governor,* declines to stand. Roger Williams is chosen an Assistant by the Assembly.

June 29. John Clark and John Green are appointed by the same body, to visit England and vindicate their right to land in Narragansett, claimed by Connecticut. Green declined. Clark's appointment was confirmed several times, till May, 1672, when it was repealed, because the occasion ceased.

Roger Williams moved in the Assembly, that several of Providence be admitted as freemen. On the 26th of next October, the Legislature conclude "that it shall be in the power of every town to make all persons freemen, that are capable of public service."

August 3. Capt. John Mason writes† to the Connecticut Government, that he sends to them a communication from "Roger Williams and others of his sect, in reference to our difference with Rhode Island." He speaks of the intended litigation in England for the land which has been long in question between the two Colonies. He asks, "If you recover, what will you gain, as the best is already gone; and what remains but rocks, swamps and sand heaps? And in lieu of this, we must erect a government over a people, that will come under no government, neither civil nor ecclesiastical; they being already in dispersed corners, like Swedes, so that there is no likelihood of any tolerable Christian-like society to be settled among them."

November 30. John Clark and his church, of Newport, are written to‡ by Edward Drinker, relative to trials of the Baptist church, worshipping at Noddle's Island, opposite Boston.

CONNECTICUT.

1667. May 9. There being only one prison or house of correction in the Colony, and that in the county of Hartford, the Legislature order§ that there shall be such a building in each county, to secure delinquents for trial. To prevent the violation of the Sabbath within the English limits by Indians, it is ordered that whoever of these shall "labor or play" there on such territory, shall be fined 5/., or set in the stocks one hour. They are to be notified of this regulation. On complaint that "divers persons have thrust themselves into the several plantations, to the unjust disturbance of the same," the Court require that each person who shall so act and still remain after being warned to depart, shall pay

* Rec. R. I.

† Ibid.

‡ Backus, vol. i. p. 398, 9.

§ Rec. Conn.

20/. a week, while continuing, or, in default of payment, sit in the stocks one hour.

As a strong prejudice existed against the term Synod, because under this name the half-way covenant* had been introduced, the Legislature of Connecticut alter it as to the body about to convene, and thus speak of it: "Style them an assembly of the ministers of this Colony, called together by the General Court for the discussion of the questions stated according to former order." The ministers collected at the Election, converse on these questions, but do not debate them. They put them off till Fall, when they expect to re-assemble.

September 5. The United Commissioners at Hartford observe† that "one main end of the Confederation is as well the preserving and propagating of the truth and liberty of the gospel, as for outward welfare." They propose in reference to the assembly of ministers about to meet, that such body's proceedings bear on the common religious interests of their Colonies, and therefore they should be composed of members from "the churches called indifferently out of all the United Colonies by an orderly agreement of the several General Courts, and the place of meeting be at or near Boston."

12. Mr. Pierson still preaches for Indians part of his time. Ten pounds of the missionary funds are paid to the Commissioners of this Colony for deserving Indians. These officers reply to the Commissioners of the two other Colonies, relative to some objections. They say that they hope their Court will rectify what Massachusetts think amiss relative to Southertown; that they could wish the Pequot Indians had been allowed sufficient land sooner, but now they are, they hope it will satisfy their Confederates; that the union with New Haven has been made "with equal patent privileges" to all. They conclude by desiring their Confederates "to implore the throne of grace in our behalf, that the Lord would so unite our hearts according to the order of the gospel, that with one heart and hand we may promote the establishment of peace and righteousness throughout our borders."

24. As a remarkable event in the life of John Davenport, considering his advanced age and the attachment of the New Haven church to him, he is called by the First Boston church to become their pastor. A majority of those who so invite him agreed with him in his opposition to the half-way covenant, which was promoted by many in Boston and the rest of the Colony. He also stood by the Massachusetts authorities in their struggles with the royal Commissioners, and communicated with Leverett, as his near friend, on the subject. Besides, he was strenuous against the policy of Con-

* Trumbull, vol. i. page 482, remarks that he did not know of any church which had adopted the half-way covenant in America.

† Hazard, vol. ii. p. 508-10.

1667.]

necit in embracing the Colony of New Haven within its charter, and thus nullifying the government of this section by church members. The facts of the last sentence were powerful enough to break him off from that quarter; and the facts of the two sentences immediately preceding, to render him welcome among friends in Boston.

The reply of the New Haven brethren contained the subsequent passage: * "We see no cause nor call of God to resign our reverend pastor to the church of Boston by any immediate act of ours, therefore not by a formal dismissal under our hands. It is our great grief and sore affliction that we cannot do for him, whom we so highly esteem in love for his works' sake and profitable labors among us, what is desired, without wrong to our consciences. Anything that we have or are, besides our consciences, we are ready to lay down at his feet. Such is our honorable respect to him, our love to peace, our desire of your supply, that we shall go as far as we safely can, in order to his and your satisfaction in this matter, having before us for our warrant, Acts, 21 c., 14 v.: 'When he would not be persuaded, we ceased, saying, the will of the Lord be done.'" This was construed by those who wished Mr. Davenport to become their minister in Boston, as a proper dismissal, while those of an opposite inclination construed it reversely.

October 10. The General Court meet at Hartford. The ministers also assemble,† as appointed, to hold a Synod or Council, and discuss ecclesiastical questions. Rev. Messrs. Warham, Hooker and Whiting offer a written paper to the Court, representing that the Council would like a larger representation of elders from the Bay to assist them. They also state, that however themselves and others are inclined to proceed and publicly discuss the questions, yet the major part of the Council were not so disposed. Rev. Messrs. Bulkley and Haynes inform the Court that the greater number of their brethren are desirous to have closed doors when they attend their specific business, as most subservient to the cause of religion: that they have voted to meet again on the third Wednesday of October, and that they are ready to abide by the decision of the Court as to the time of another session. The Court answer that they had not concluded on the date, and request the churches to send their ministers, at their own cost, to sit in Council with such as the churches of Plymouth and Massachusetts may send.

Great trouble had existed about the choice of a colleague with Mr. Warham, of Windsor. Strong parties existed. The General Court order that the people of Windsor and Majsacoe meet the next Monday morning, and give their votes relative to Mr. Chauncy, who was preaching among them. A small majority were

* Conn. Gen. Ct. Rec.

† Ibid.

in his favor. The Court grant the congregation liberty to settle Mr. Chauncy, if they choose. They require the minority to pay proportionately for Mr. Chauncy's salary, until they obtain a minister for themselves. Though the candidate was not settled there, the minority separated and formed a distinct church. The town remained in a divided condition about sixteen years from this date.

11. John Woodbridge and two more date a petition to the Court, that Kenilworth may be embodied into a church state.

16. John Allyn, Secretary, addresses* a letter to the Massachusetts Legislature: "We send you an agreement to concur with yourselves and our other confederates about a General Convention or Synod for clearing up the truth in some matters controversial, that are stirring not only amongst us, but elsewhere in the country, at least some of them; which being of common concernment, we take notice of what is recommended by the Commissioners, at their late session upon that account." He says that the place of session is proposed to be in or near Boston, and that the choice of time and place is left with the Massachusetts authorities. He proceeds: "If you please to take in with our motion and desire herein, and do settle the affair, it would be acceptable that what is with you of such nature, meet to be then debated, etc., may, in some copy thereof, be sent hither also, and ours returned to you, sometime before the session, to ripen thoughts upon preparatorily. And the good Lord direct and incline all our hearts into the knowledge and love of his truth, and grant the unity of the Spirit and the bond of peace unto all the churches in New England."

"This year there was a Synod† called at Hartford, to discuss some points concerning baptism and church discipline; but nothing was concluded, the Congregational party, which was the greatest, violently opposing the Presbyterian. There was this year, and divers years foregoing, great contentions in divers of the churches concerning these things."

31. The Legislature of the Bay reply,‡ that they shall be ready to help forward the Convention, but as the questions to be considered had not been forwarded, they should be glad to receive them.

1668. January 20. The male inhabitants§ of Branford sign a "New Plantation and Church Covenant." This says, that as the settlement of the town was undertaken by men of "Congregational principles as to church order, according to the Platform of Discipline agreed on by the Synod," in which "we have found much peace to our great comfort," and for which we bless God and pray that he would so continue it among us and our successors, we

* Conn. Gen. Ct. Rec.

† Conn. Gen. Ct. Rec.

‡ Bradstreet of New London, Journal.

§ N. E. Hist. Gen. Reg. 1849, p. 153, 4.

1668.]

will settle an orthodox minister and encourage the gathering of a church; will maintain such church officers, and will not infringe on any of their liberties.

April. At the close of this month,* Mr. Davenport and his family set out for Boston. They reach that place the 2d of next month. He finds a minority of the people who had invited him, opposed to his installation over them. These suppose that some equivocation had been used about his letter of dismission, as it purported to free him from New Haven church, when they believe that it granted him no such explicit liberty, though his flock there expressed the highest esteem for his services and character.

May 18. On petition of some who live in Windsor, the Legislature approve† of Mr. Woodbridge's continuance in the ministry there as a lecturer, and they will allow him to preach once a fortnight on the Sabbath, as well as on week-days, if agreeable to the church of Mr. Warham. On the 8th of October, they permit Mr. Woodbridge to lecture once a fortnight there, on the 14th day of the week, and not on the Sabbath, without leave from Mr. Warham.

Rev. Mr. Warham desires to know of the General Court whether their order of October last, granting leave for the choice of another minister, includes any member of the Windsor church. They reply that the dissenting party, designated by the order, are those who have such liberty allowed them.

20. As to the law about fines for keeping books or manuscripts of "Quakers, Ranters, Adamites, or such like notorious Here-tiques;" the Legislature order the constables to seize them, wherever found, and deliver them to the next County Court, who shall take care to have such productions suppressed.

Whoever profanes the Sabbath "by unnecessary travel or playing thereon in time of public worship, before or after, or shall keep out of the meeting-house during the public worship unnecessarily," shall pay 5/. for each offense, or be set in the stocks one hour.

22. Fast Day to be observed‡ on the 29th, "for our manifold sins, whereby we have caused the Lord to go out against us in those yearly judgments of blasting the increase of the field, the spoiling the fruits of trees, the continuance of divisions in several Plantations and Societies amongst us, and to implore mercy from the Lord in behalf of his people of England, and that he would cause his face to shine upon us in this wilderness."

John Allyn and Thomas Stanton are empowered to lay before the Governor of Rhode Island the wrong done by some of that Colony to Connecticut, "in interrupting the quiet possession of divers inhabitants in their lands and estates at Squamacuck, or elsewhere in the Narragansett Country," granted to them by their Charter.

* Hutchinson, vol. i. p. 247-51.

† Conn. Gen. Ct. Rec.

‡ Conn. Gen. Ct. Rec.

October 8. The General Assembly appear to relinquish the idea of being successful in the settlement of their ecclesiastical difficulties by public disputations and councils. They entertain the purpose to try for so desirable an end, in the promotion of some system of church communion and discipline, by which the professors of religion in their Colony might walk harmoniously, though not agreed in minor points. For this object, they appoint Rev. Messrs. James Fitch, Samuel Wakenan, Gershom Bulkley and Joseph Eliot, to meet at Saybrook. Trumbull, who gives this account, remarks, that such a step "appears to have been the first towards a religious constitution," though many years passed before it was accomplished.

The Legislature appoint the same divines, designated to convene at Windsor the fourth of the second week in April, or sooner, if they can, to endeavor for a reconciliation between parties in the church there. They speak of such division relative to the ordination of Mr. Chauncy and the continuance of Mr. Woodbridge.

November 4. Nathaniel, son of Edward Collins, of Cambridge, Mass., is ordained at Middletown. He graduated at H. C. 1660, and was brother of John, who became eminent in England among its Puritan clergymen. He was proposed for freeman, 1667. He died December 28, 1684, in his forty-third year. The *Magnalia** says of him: "All the qualities of most exemplary piety, extraordinary integrity, obliging affability, joined with the accomplishments of an extraordinary preacher, did render him truly excellent."

Zachariah, son of Robert Walker,† of Boston, born 1637, educated but not graduated at H. C., began to preach in 1662, at Jamaica, L. I., for £60 a year, moved this year to Stratford, with part of his people. May 13, 1669, he had leave from the Legislature, to occupy the pulpit once a day till their October session, when they assigned to him a part of the ministerial land with Mr. Chauncy. Trumbull places him over the Second church of Stratford, and informs us that, May 3, 1670, he was settled at Woodbury. Here he deceased, January, 1699, aged sixty-two. His memory was honorably continued by his son, who died Judge of the Supreme Court of Connecticut.

1669. January 6. The church at Farmington‡ vote, that each brother should send to the deacon "a peck of wheat, or the worth of a shilling in current pay, for the defraying of the next sacrament, as also for the clearing off that little which was yet due for the sacrament already past; as also for the future, every brother of the church should for each sacrament allow 6*d.*, except such of the brethren whose wives come not to the Supper, because not members of the church; and to them it was permitted to put in 3*d.*, or sixpence, whichever they please, for each sacrament."

* *Magnalia*, vol. ii. p. 117. Field's Centennial Address.

† Thompson's L. I. vol. ii. p. 101. Trumbull, vol. i. p. 523. Conn. Col. Rec.

‡ N. E. Gen. Reg. vol. xii. p. 328.

1669.]

April 7. John Woodbridge* is ordained at Kenilworth. "Sam'l Wakeman and Joseph Haynes imposed hands." Mr. Woodbridge, on October 26, 1671, married Mrs. Abigail Leet.

May 13. The General Assembly remark† as follows: "Having seriously considered the great divisions that arose amongst us about matters of Church Government," we, "for the honor of God, welfare of the churches and preservation of the public peace so greatly hazarded, do declare, that whereas the Congregational churches in these parts, for the general of their profession and practice, have hitherto been approved, we can do no less than still approve and countenance the same to be without disturbance until better light, in an orderly way, doth appear. But yet forasmuch as sundry persons of worth, for prudence and piety, amongst us, are otherwise persuaded, (whose welfare and peaceable satisfaction we desire to accommodate,) this Court doth declare, that all such persons, being also approved according to law as orthodox and sound in the fundamentals of the Christian Religion, may have allowance of their persuasion and profession in church ways or assemblies without disturbance." Here the toleration of other denominations, who are correct in belief and conduct, besides the Congregationalists, is allowed by law.

On the petition of Stratford, that they may peaceably enjoy the labors of their minister, Mr. Chauncy, whom they have settled, the Court grant the request, though they advise the petitioners to settle their differences, and that, till their session in October, Mr. Walker may preach once a day, as before, "the church allowing him full three hours between the church's two meetings for the same."

Mr. John Blackleach desires of the Assembly, "that he might use his endeavors to make known to the Indians something of the knowledge of God, according as he shall have opportunity." They consent "with their desires, that he may, through the blessing of God, be an advantageous instrument to the end proposed."

The Assembly, in declaring allegiance to Charles II., add the clause, "renouncing the Pope and all other foreign Princes, States and Potentates."

July 28. Abraham Pierson, Jr., who graduated at Harvard the year before, is employed to assist his father in the ministry at Newark, N. J. Lambert states that the son married Abigail, daughter of George Clark, who resided at Milford, prior to his preaching at Newark.

October 14. The subsequent order‡ is passed by the General Assembly. "Whereas our beloved brethren at Saybrook have formerly, by and with the approbation of the Governor and several magistrates and elders of churches, embodied themselves in church

* Farmer's Register.

† Conn. Gen. Ct. Rec.

‡ Ibid.

society, to take off some scruples that may haply lie in the breasts of any, concerning their non-attendance of the law in the punctilios of it; and this Court finding no record of their proceedings in this matter, do now upon their request, see cause hereby to declare, that they do approve of their embodying themselves in church society, and desire the Lord to smile upon them, establish and bless their beginning."

A petition of Mr. Whiting is laid before the General Court, "for their approbation for a distinct walking in Congregational church order, as hath been here settled, according to the council of the elders." The Court recommend to the Hartford church to allow Mr. Whiting "to practice the Congregational way without disturbance," or else grant him and his followers "to walk distinctly." They give permission for him and his supporters to withdraw and so relieve themselves, if the church do not coincide with either of the two propositions. Mr. Whiting and his advocates were for strict conformity with the order observed by the churches in the first years of New England. But Mr. Haynes and a majority of the church were in favor of the half-way covenant recommended by the Synod of 1662.

As the people of Rye, instead of supporting an orthodox minister, hear John Coe and Marmaduke Smith, suspected as being unsound in doctrine, the Court order Commissioners of the county to examine these two teachers, and, if found to be erroneous in faith, to prevent their further labors to "sow seeds of error among the people there;" and also to inform Rye, that the Court "will themselves procure and settle a preaching minister amongst them, and take sufficient order that he be maintained by them."

In case that the friends of Mr. Chauncy at Stratford, will not hear Mr. Walker part of each Sabbath, the Court observe that they shall not be offended, if "Mr. Walker and his company do meet distinctly elsewhere, provided each of them proceed well for the comfortable supply of their minister."

The Assembly permit that, as the troubles in Windsor church are not yet healed, "the dissenters meet distinctly for the present, and orderly and regularly embody themselves in church state, according to law, when they shall seek it."

They appoint Commissioners to meet with similar officers from Massachusetts and Plymouth, at Boston, in May next, and transact business of the Confederacy, and consider what alteration may be required in any of its articles.

They appoint a Fast on the fourth of December, "to humble our souls before the Lord, that he may return a harvest to us, healing our sicknesses, blessing our fruits and labors, reconciling our differences, and breathing out a spirit of conversion abundantly amongst us."

1670.]

27. Gershom Bulkley* was ordained at Wethersfield, by Mr. Joseph Rowland and Mr. Samuel Willard.

"This year the Lord frowned much upon the country, by sickness in divers places, especially in this Colony of Connecticut. Divisions in several churches. Blasting of all sorts of grain. Greater scarcity having not been known for very many years."

1670. February 12. Mr. Whiting and his adherents, having separated from Mr. Haynes and his party, formed the Second church† of Hartford. They made a declaration of their Congregational order and entered into covenant. The first point of the former document was, "That visible saints are the only fit matter, and confederation the only form of a visible church." This shows that they did not allow the half-way covenant.

Israel, son of Charles Chauncy, President of Harvard College, having begun to preach at Stratford about 1663, where Mr. Blackman had become infirm in such employment, and been settled by a majority, continued to be counteracted by the remainder. To comply with the wish of the latter, Zechariah Walker began to preach for them, 1668. Both Chauncy and Walker officiated in the same house, but at different times, on the Sabbath; the former at the customary hours, and the latter two hours in the middle thereof. But after a period, Walker took three hours, which rendered it necessary for Chauncy's friends to occupy a private house for their afternoon services. The next day, they referred their case to Major Gould, a magistrate of Fairfield, who advised them to allow the other part of the inhabitants three, instead of two hours. As previously stated, the General Assembly, in October of 1669, advised as the Major did. They also proposed that both parties refer their troubles to a Council. This was done, but without avail. The supporters of Chauncy excluded their opponents from the meeting-house, who betook themselves to a private dwelling.

March 18. "Benjamin Woodbridge was ordained minister of the Presbyterian party, as they are accounted, of Windsor."‡

April 1. The Rev. John Warham§ expires. He had been minister at Dorchester, Massachusetts, six years, and thirty-four in Windsor, Connecticut. He was eminent for his piety, though he occasionally doubted his being a follower of Christ. This was so, at times, when he administered the sacrament, and to such a degree that he declined to partake of the elements. Cotton Mather supposes that Warham was the first minister in New England who used notes in preaching, "yet he was applauded by his hearers, as one of the most animated and energetic preachers." Connecticut considered him as a principal pillar and father of the Colony.

* N. E. Gen. Reg. Bradstreet's Journal, vol. ix. p. 45.

† Bradstreet's Journal. ‡ N. E. Gen. Reg. Bradstreet's Jour. vol. ix. p. 45.

§ Trumbull's Conn. vol. i. p. 519. Magnalia, vol. i. p. 441.

To his precepts and example our country is greatly indebted for whatsoever it possesses of good report and lasting benefit.

May 12. The General Assembly meet * at Hartford. At this session they alter the requisition for all the freemen to convene for the election of "the Governor, Magistrates and civil officers," designated by the charter, so that such voters may appear on this occasion, the second Thursday every May, and choose these members of Government, either in person or by proxy. The reasons for a change of this sort were the large number of the convention on election days, the expense and inconvenience.

As Charles Hill had a Spanish slave, the Legislature order "the Court at New London" to examine the case, and if they found that Hill had legally purchased him, they were to free and send him home, if Hill had a reasonable sum for his time allowed him out of the public treasury. As Hannah Huitt, of Stonington, had not heard of her husband, Thomas Huitt, for eight years, having been lost at sea with the company of the vessel in which he sailed, the Court allow her to marry again if she see cause.

As the difficulties between Connecticut and Rhode Island still prevailed, about lines of territory, the Court of the former appoint a committee to meet a similar body from the latter, the following June, in New London, to see if they cannot compose the differences, and, if they are unable to effect this, they are empowered to exact obedience from the inhabitants of Squamacuck and Narraganset. The Commissioners of the two Colonies held their proposed session, but did not come to a harmonious conclusion. Those of Connecticut subsequently visited the Narraganset country, read their charter to the people of Wickford and settlements east of Pawcatuck river, demanded their submission, and designated officers for their government.

Simon Bradstreet, having preached four years for the people of New London,† who called him June 1, is ordained as their pastor. His salary at first was £90 a year, current pay, with fire-wood supplied and parsonage kept in repair. It was soon increased.

October 13. The General Assembly recommend that the County Court of Fairfield "take an effectual course to settle an able and orthodox minister in the town of Rye, and order due and competent maintenance for such minister in a proportional way among all the inhabitants." They approve and confirm the articles of union between this Colony and Massachusetts and Plymouth, if these two do the same. Thus an old league, which had been of much use to New England, is continued, with alterations which changes had made necessary.

John, son of Rev. Peter Pruden,‡ born at Milford, November

* Conn. Col. Rec.

† Caulkins's New London, p. 143.

‡ Thompson's Hist. of I. I. vol: ii. p. 102.

1670.]

9, 1645 ; graduated at Harvard College, 1668 ; settles as minister at Jamaica, L. I. He continued here till 1692, when he accepted an urgent call from Newark, N. J., where he succeeded Mr. Pierson. He resigned his charge here, June 9, 1699, and died December 11, 1725, aged 80. He was highly esteemed for his talents, piety and usefulness.

CHAPTER IX.

MASSACHUSETTS. Hope Atherton. — Zechariah Symmes. — Church Dissension. — Fear in London that Massachusetts would become independent. — Oxenbridge's Election Sermon. — Body of Liberties. — Ministers freed from Taxes. — Annuity renewed. — Third Church of Boston. — Change in the Legislature. — General Courts at Nantucket and the Vineyard. — College. — John Allen. — Eliot's Communication. — Indian Church. — Court Presentments. — Braintree Church. — Eliot's Resolve. — Publications. — President Chauncy. — Test-Act. — Discipline of Covenant Children. — Edward Johnson. — Charles Nicholet. — Samuel Parris. — Election Sermon. — Confederation. — Report on Newbury Divisions. — Laws revised and published. — Chancery Court. — Advice of Ministers. — Ducking Stool. — Power of Congregational Churches. — Laws passed at the Vineyard. — Setting the Psalm. — Object of settling New England. — Concerns of the Mission. — Fast. — Antipas Newman. — Richard Bellingham. — Quakers. — Churches gathered. — Michael Powell. — Taxation of Colonies. — Liberties. — Toleration. — Baptists. — Accusations against Massachusetts. — Indian Churches. — Dutch Fleet. — Thomas Gilbert. — Thomas Gould. — Woe to Drunkards. — Episcopalians. — Baptists. — Divisions at Salem. — Letters of Collins and Knowles. — Thomas Gould. — Election Sermon. — Licensers of the Press. — Blasphemy. — Robert Boyle. — Settlements of Converted Indians. — Depression of the College. — Governments of Nantucket and Vineyard. — Samuel Danforth. — John Oxenbridge. — Office of Ruling Elder. — Conversion. PLYMOUTH. Philip's Treaty. — Prosecutions. — Council of War. — Laws. — Purpose of settling the Colony. — Heresy. — Freemen. — Powowing. — Indian Affairs. — College. — Confederation. — Samuel Treat. — Thomas Prince. — Free School. — Election Sermon. — Freemen. — Thomas Willet. — Praying Indians. MAINE. Papists. — Punishments. — Shubal Dummer. — Indians. — Letter of Lovelace. — Collins's Letter. NEW HAMPSHIRE. Portsmouth Church. — Edward Hilton. — John Keyner. — Conditions of Town Grant. — Matthew Cradock's Widow. — College. — Quakers. — Collins's Letter. RHODE ISLAND. Letter of Roger Williams. — Philip. — Seventh-day Baptists excommunicated. — Quakers. — William Harris in Custody. — Taxation resisted. — George Fox. — Discussion. — Coddington's Letters. — Divorce. — Intemperance. — Executions. — Discipline. — Jury. — Missionary Labor. — Publication. CONNECTICUT. Missionaries. — Mrs. Mason. — Charity. — John Mason. — Emigrants. — Col. Golfe. — Laws. — John Youngs. — Contract of Uncas. — Confederation. — Fasts. — Rogereens. — Nicholas Street. — Election Sermon. — Robert Fordham. — Visit to Christian Indians. — Edmund Andros. — Ecclesiastical.

MASSACHUSETTS.

1671. January 21. Hope Atherton unites with the people of Hatfield in a Fast for "setting up ordinances." On May 17, two years before, he, having preached for them, was voted £50 salary.

1671.]

November 25, 1670, being about to be ordained there, they grant him the ministerial lot of meadow, home lot of eight acres, engage to have a sufficient house built for him, and pay him £60 a year, two-thirds in merchantable wheat, and one third in pork, with the condition, "If our crops fall so short that we cannot pay in kind, then we are to pay him in the next best pay we have."* He was son of Humphrey Atherton, of Dorchester, baptized August, 1646, and graduated at Harvard College, 1665.

February 4. Zechariah Symmes, of Charlestown, dies, within two months of being seventy-two years old. He was the son of William Symmes; born at Canterbury, England, April 5, 1599. He came to Massachusetts, August or September, 1634, in the ship *Ann*, with John Lathrop and Ann Hutchinson. He was settled as teacher and colleague with Mr. James, December 22, 1634. He preached the Election Sermon of 1648. His wife was Sarah, who was remarkable for her energy and virtues, and with whom he lived nearly fifty years. He had thirteen children, six of whom were born in Dunstable, where he was rector before coming to our shores, from 1626 to 1633, inclusive; of whom was Zechariah, who became a highly esteemed minister, first of Boxford and then of Bradford. One of his chief trials was with members of his church, who were among the principal founders of the First Baptist church in Boston. Cotton Mather says of him, "He knew his Bible well, and he was a preacher of what he knew, and sufferer for what he preached." Thus wisely taught, usefully occupied and profitably disciplined, he was a fit guide of others, and followed Christ in the way heavenward.

12. Robert Chalkley,† of the Charlestown church, is censured publicly for "reviling authority." He was absolved the first day of the succeeding September.

16. The Congregational party of the church at Newbury‡ invite the Rowley church to unite with the Salisbury church, and visit them by their messengers, the last of the month, for advising about their protracted dissensions.

20. The Rowley church decline to comply, because they who request them so to attend had not desired the pastor, Mr. Parker, and his Presbyterian friends, to unite with them in calling a Council.

The messengers from Salisbury meet and advise the Woodman party, "That the choice of officers, either teaching or ruling elders, such as the church should most unanimously agree upon, would most conduce to" their "peace and quiet."

March 17. Such a party inform the Rowley church, that because

* Farmer. N. E. Gen. Reg. Holland, vol. i. p. 69.

† First Ch. Rec. Charlestown.
p. 90, 99, 100.

‡ Rowley Ch. Rec. Coffin's Newbury,

Mr. Parker would not allow this advice, they had laid him "under blame, suspending him from all official acts until he gave the church satisfaction, only to preach as a gifted brother, if he please; and having so done, they elected two ruling elders, Mr. Richard Dummer and Mr. Edward Woodman, and have appointed Thursday next for their ordination." They invite Rowley church to attend by their messengers; and their minister, Mr. Phillips, to preach a sermon on the occasion.

20. The Rowley church decline, because they do not approve of the censure on Mr. Parker, nor of the intended ordination of the ruling elders.

April. A complaint is lodged with the County Court at Ipswich, by the Presbyterians of Newbury against the Congregationalists, for their proceedings towards Mr. Parker, chiefly admonishing their pastor, Mr. Parker, and suspending him from his office.

18. A communication is made to the Court by the accused. Several other similar documents are presented.

May 1. In view of the controversy which prevailed with regard to the formation of the Third church in Boston, and their favor for the half-way covenant, and the opposition of the First church there and others to it, Increase Mather dates his preface to the following work: "The First Principles* of New England, concerning the subject of Baptism and Communion of Churches, collected partly out of the printed books, but chiefly out of the original manuscripts of the first and chief Fathers in the New England Churches, with the judgment of sundry learned divines of the Congregational way in England, concerning the said questions." The author says, that his design is to "commend a few things to the serious and Christian consideration of the Anti-synodalian Brethren;" and that he was formerly of their persuasion. He observes that some who dissented from the late Synod, decided for the enlargement of baptism; the minority of that body thought the rest of it had apostatized; his father, Richard Mather, gave his dying counsel to him, that he should endeavor to have children brought under the government of the church, and when grown up, to have baptism for their children.

26. As a member of the Board of Commissioners† of Trade and Plantations established in London, Evelyn remarks of Massachusetts, then often called abused New England, as follows: "What we most insisted on, was to know the condition of New England, which appearing to be very independent as to their regard to England or his Majesty, rich and strong as they now were, there were great debates in what style to write to them, for the condition of that Colony was such, that they were able to contest with all

* Printed 1675.
Annals, vol. i. p. 358.

† Memoirs of Evelyn, vol. i. p. 438. Holmes's Amer.

1671.]

other Plantations about them, and there was fear of their breaking from all dependence on this Nation."

29. The Essex Court* decide that those who had acted against Mr. Parker, were not a majority of the church, as they contended, though a majority "of such as met together;" had acted disorderly in electing two ruling elders and appointing the day for their ordination; and wrongfully in suspending Mr. Parker from his ministry; and that thirty-nine of them be fined and pay the charges and fees, and be committed until they pay such amercements. Two more were not fined. The favorers of Mr. Parker were also forty-one. The Congregationalists did not feel willing to abide by such a decision.

31. The General Court assemble. The Election Sermon is preached by John Oxenbridge, of Boston. His subject, "New England Freemen warned and warmed, to be free indeed, having an eye to God in their Elections." His text, Hosea viii. 4. "They have set up kings, but not by me; they have made princes, and I knew it not." He observes to his audience: "Your choice of magistrates and others in authority, when it is in your power, will shew whether ye are resolved to serve God in your generation or not.—If our magistrates set up for our protection, be not owned by the Lord, they will be no protection.—As for you in New England to backslide and to fashion yourselves to the flaunting mode of England in worship or walking, you undertake a vain thing, for you can but limp after them, and you will forget your errand of planting this wilderness, and if you have a mind to turn your churches into parishes, and your ministers into priests and prelates, I cannot think the Lord will ever endure it.—Mind faithfully and diligently your liberties, that ye may be free to act for and according to God, in the constitution and manage of your magistracy. Quit once your liberties, and ye must have such a magistracy and manage of it, as will please not God nor yourselves, but other men will be your masters; for servants, yea, slaves must you be to some body when ye have let go your liberties.—We should have cause to complain of any, that is chosen, if he should use this trust against our liberties, as the eagle, in the Greek epigram, lamented that it was slain with an arrow winged with its own feathers. Ye are also trusted for men, for many, all inhabitants have their liberties, women, children, servants, yea, and strangers too: let me beseech this honorable assembly, in the name of all the freemen, (who am also a freeman,) not to part with any of your liberties by force or fraud. These are our crowns and jewels, which we commit to your care and charge.—If ye shall break down the hedge of your churches and commonwealth, you will lay the field open to such as watch to make spoil of you.—Your civil and religious liberties are so coupled

* Essex Co. Ct. Rec.

here, that if one be lost, the other cannot be kept.—Objection. ‘Doth any say that the Patent or Charter right is questioned by some.’ Answer. Such men do not appear so good friends either to the Crown or country, for the question cutteth off the true and proper ligament between them. Obj. ‘If it be said, there may be just reason to quit some of the liberties.’ Ans. I grant so much on condition ye will also grant that some such deliberation should be used in the quitting any of them, as there was in constituting of them. The liberties were probationers for three years, and in all the General Courts for that time, they were passed by all the freemen, and it seems equal that all the freemen should have a sufficient time to consider of the change and abrogation of them. Nothing can undo this country but unwariness and unfaithfulness, but the mis-making or mis-acting of freemen. Choice of men to power and trust gives the true picture or character of them that choose.—Ye know, my brethren, what new neighbors we have; their busy locusts will know and improve all your strife and other snares, for you are boasted of, therefore now is your season for self-denial.”—These neighbors were the French, being Roman Catholics, who had lately resumed possession of Nova Scotia, including part of Maine. The preacher does not think, that the questions about the church (Old South) seceded from the First church of Boston, and the adult children of the churches in general, should be occasions of division in the Colony.

On the 26th page of his discourse, Mr. Oxenbridge refers to the Body of Liberties, adopted by Massachusetts, 1641, as follows: “If you be dull and sleepy, and keep not your hold when others are active and pull hard, you must needs let go; unless I mistake, the 60th liberty, and the 74th, are infringed by inadvertency. I would hope it were no worse. By your 75th liberty, you have power to enter your dissent and protestation, which will save your own souls from guilt, and ye have encouragement to help yourselves and the whole, because as yet the promise is made good to you. Jer. xxx. 21. Your nobles are of yourselves, and your Governor proceeds from the midst of you.”

Regularly ordained ministers are freed from country, county and church rates, and also from those of the town, except they make a contrary agreement.

The churches of Dedham, Roxbury, Charlestown, and First of Boston, are required to send elders and messengers to the church of Newbury, for the purpose of investigating their troubles, and giving suitable advice.

The Secretary is to inform Mr. Parker of this order, and also the Congregational and Presbyterian parties. William Stoughton is joined with the Secretary to write. This he did on the 23d of next month, as follows. He observes that their dissension has grieved the hearts of all Christians, who wish well to the churches

1671.]

of New England. He mentions the appointment of the four churches to send elders and messengers among them. He beseeches them to prepare their hearts for the proper reception of such delegates, that their advice may be effectual for terminating the difficulties.

As the period for allowing £30 a year to the widow of Governor Endicott had expired, it is renewed to her.

Fifteen ministers,* who counseled the Third church of Boston to become organized, present an address to the Court, desiring that, as their committee the last year reported them as disorganizers for giving such advice, they may be heard before the Legislature or a Convention of churches. Among their complaints, one is, that the document offensive to them, "scandalizeth the professed and declared doctrine of Baptism, insinuating that no children ought to be baptized but such whose parents have given such evidence of the grace of faith to the church, as whereupon they are admitted to full communion in instituted churches!" Another is, "The whole charge savoreth of a spirit under an extraordinary transportation from a pleasant, personal and passionate concern in the interest of a party, as appears by the instance of the business of the Third church, and so a design to scandalize that precious church of Christ, at least to hinder the consummation and confirmation of that work of God, by the peaceable settlement of that church in actual and full communion with other churches." The Court, being mostly new members and elected because favorable to the new church, hear the document and apologize to the ministers for improper terms applied to them by their committee. They say that it is "their duty to declare that several expressions in the votes referred to in the petition appeared exceptionable," and order, "that the said papers referring to the case should be accounted useless, and not be improved against the reverend elders as having been the causes of God's displeasure against the country, or to be made public. And whereas many have taken liberty to publish secrets of the Court in that case, they are to be accountable." "The Court doth further declare, that they knew no just cause of those scandalous reflections, contained in said papers, indefinitely against magistrates, elders and churches, either in reference to the new church in Boston or otherwise; and, therefore, until they were further informed, they must judge them innocent and unduly calumniated and misrepresented." Thus the new church and its friends, who favored the half-way Covenant, were relieved from the censure which had been cast upon them.

June 8. While the Court thus showed a wish to relieve the

* John Ward, Samuel Whiting, John Allin, Edmund Brown, John Higginson, John Sherman, Thomas Cobbet, Thomas Thatcher, Sen., Thomas Shepard, Samuel Phillips, William Hubbard, Seaborn Cotton, Antipas Newman, Samuel Torrey, Samuel Whiting, Jr.

favorers of the half-way Covenant from what they considered unjust imputations, they also gave proof that they were not prejudiced against those who had or did oppose this ecclesiastical document. The instance to this effect was, that, as the Rev. John Davenport had subscribed to the Company's common stock, and been instrumental in advancing their Colony, the Court grant his son John five hundred acres of land.

14. Arthur Mason having been disfranchised last year for his passionate words and behavior before the First church of Boston, by the General Court, confesses his sin and prays the Court to release him from such a punishment. They grant his petition.

28. In answer to proposals* from Nantucket, Gov. Francis Lovelace and Council, at Fort James, New York, grant that the people of that Island have a Court one year, and those of the Vineyard another Court next year; and each of them, consisting of a chief magistrate and assistants, to make such laws as they need, and administer them in all cases, except capital ones, which shall be tried at New York. On July 7, we have the subsequent order. As Thomas Mayhew, of "Martin's or Martha's Vineyard," had, "by God's blessing, been an instrument of doing a great deal of good, both in settling several plantations there, as also in reclaiming and civilizing the Indians," he is appointed by the Governor and Council of New York, Governor for life, of the said Vineyard, and chief magistrate of a General Court, with the privilege of a double vote, which body shall consist of himself and three assistants, the latter elected annually by the inhabitants of his jurisdiction. With a commission dated July 8, to Mayhew, Lovelace sends him a letter. He remarks: "He, with his dear deceased son, having been instruments of doing much good by their instruction in bringing divers of them (Indians) to the knowledge of the Christian Religion, which is worthy of great commendation."

Tristram Coffin was appointed on June 28, 1671, by the Governor and Council of New York, chief magistrate of a General Court for Nantucket and Tuckanuckett, which body is to consist of said Coffin and his successors, chosen annually, and of two assistants, then chosen by the people of the two Islands.

July 2. The First church of Boston appoint John Leverett, John Oxenbridge, James Allen, James Penn, John Wiswell and Thomas Clarke, as messengers to the Newbury church, to hear and adjust the differences existing between its Congregational and Presbyterian members.

August 21. The magistrates and ministers write to dissenting ministers in and about London, for encouragement and aid to the College at Cambridge.

26. Rev. John Allin, of Dedham, dies, aged seventy-five, after

* Nantucket Papers, p. 35, 41.

1671.]

"an easy sickness of ten days." His "beloved wife Katharine," as he expressed himself when writing about her, survived him only three days. They were both buried in one grave. She was the relict of Governor Thomas Dudley, and married to Mr. Allin, November 8, 1653. When married to the Governor, she was widow of Samuel Hackburne. She was the mother of Governor Joseph Dudley. By Mr. Allin she had three sons, Benjamin, Daniel and Eleazer. Mr. Allin was among the chief founders of New England, in its principles of Church and State, and in its elements of character. He was able and faithful as a pastor, indefatigable and patriotic as a member of the Commonwealth, beloved and beneficent in all his relations in life. In 1638, he took part in replying to the Nine Points, which came from England the year before. Such a reply was answered by John Ball, a copy of which was sent to the New England ministers, but did not arrive. It was printed 1643, and the year after was brought to our shores. It was answered by Mr. Allin and Thomas Shepard, of Cambridge, 1645, in a pamphlet known as a "Defense of the Nine Questions, or Positions." At an adjourned session of the Synod in 1648, Mr. Allin preached before this body to great acceptance. In the Synod of 1662, he was a prominent supporter of the half-way covenant then introduced. The change so made was argued against by President Chauncy in his *Anti-synodalia*, and also by the Rev. John Davenport. While Richard Mather, of Dorchester, answered the latter, Mr. Allin replied to the former. Among the chief supporters of the Third church in Boston, who seceded from the First, under Davenport, and principal remonstrants against the censure, passed on them by the Legislature, 1670, was Mr. Allin. Soon after his parish were called to part with him, they adopted measures to publish the two last sermons which he preached. They paid the charges of his funeral. They passed a vote, that a "convenient tomb, or monument, of stone and lime-mortar, and covered with meet timber, be erected over his grave, and an inscription cut thereon, with the date of his death." Thus they, who remained to be his living epistles, to show forth the nature of his pastoral care over them, testified their heart-felt regard for him, who was no more to return to them, but they must go and stand with him in the Judgment. The character given him by Johnson's *Wonder-working Providence*, is evidently true; the "humble and heavenly minded Mr. John Allin, a man of a very courteous behavior, full of sweet Christian love towards all, and with much meekness of spirit contending earnestly for the faith and peace of Christ's churches." His people, in their preface to his printed sermons, thus speak of him: "A constant, faithful, diligent steward in the house of God, a man of peace and truth, a burning and a shining light."

A few weeks before his decease, he wrote a suggestion to Increase Mather to publish his "*First Principles of New England*."

Having done this, Mather notes in a postscript: "Since the composition of this Collection of Testimonies, it hath pleased the Lord to take unto himself another of our ancient studs, viz., worthy and Reverend Mr. Allin."

September 4. A communication from John Eliot to the Commissioners of the Union, contains the subsequent passages: "The church of Natick having in it sundry young men, who were, when I first began, children and youths, whom I did catechise and so train up ever since; there are now sundry of them of good parts, able to teach. For their farther and better fitting for that work, we have set up an exercise of prophesying according to 1 Cor. 14 c., wherein four of them exercise in one day, and I moderate and order them. Their profiting hereby is evident to all. It putteth life unto them, also. I read unto them a lecture in the liberal arts, especially in Logick. For their encouragement, I provide them some small entertainment of food at such times, especially such as come from other places.

"Furthermore, God put it into the heart of the church to send some of their brethren to sundry parts of the country, to call in their countrymen to pray unto God. I foresaw this would be chargeable. Some of yourselves did last year tell me before your sitting, that you doubted I must abate of my salary and others also with me, in a proportion, because you were so short in means. After your rising, you told me you had made shift to extend matters to answer every one. This gave me to understand, that there was to be no help to be expected there. By some intimation I had from worthy Mr. Ashurst, I took boldness to charge a bill, for the which Mr. Usher alloweth me £50. With this supply, I fell to work, sent out messengers to many parts, gave entertainment to such as attended the Lecture. A particular account thereof is here inclosed, taken out of Mr. Usher's book, who hath paid all, and I have meddled with none of it. Now I humbly request your approbation of this very act and account, and the same account I shall give to the right honourable Corporation.

"Moreover, the church of Natick is about to dismiss sundry of their members to gather into a church estate at Nipmuck river, forty miles from the Bay, in which work and in order thereunto I shall be put to sundry great charges, and I request that you would please to allow me something towards the same; and the rather I am bold to propose it because in all other public meetings, motions, journeys, translations, attendances on the press, and other occasions, that I have attended in this work, I have never had (to my knowledge and remembrance) the least acknowledgment from yourselves, or one penny supply, save my bare salary." Mr. Eliot desires that the Commissioners would pay £100 debt for him, because it hindered his usefulness in the mission. "Further, I do present you with our Indian a, b, c, and our Indian dialogues, with

1871.]

a request that you would pay the printer's bill. An ingenious young scholar (J. Foster) did cut in wood the scheme, for which work I request you would pay him. I think him worthy of 3, or 4, or £5; but I leave it to your wisdom. With reference to our Lecture, my noble Lady Armine, and our right honorable Governor, Esq. Boyle, have sent me the sum of £12, a sum which I proposed in my letters last year. This I shall extend so far as I can. But besides, this work of sending for the church messengers is still incumbent upon us, yea, increased much by these stormy times. The number of our fixed teachers are ten, and the number of fixed rulers are ten; but in the several towns, who are in the birth to pray unto God, there is a great addition both of teachers and rulers. But, in that respect, I commit the matter to God and wait on him for supply."

23. An Indian church is gathered * at Hassanamessit, or Hassanamisco, afterwards Grafton. Gookin says that the original name signified a place of small stones.

October 4. Thomas Foster is arraigned before the Middlesex Court,† for absence from worship on the Sabbath. He pleads necessity, and is therefore discharged.

November 4. Samuel Hubbard, of Newport,‡ Rhode Island, writes to the Baptist church, who worship on Noddle's Island, near Boston. He gives them a gospel benediction, speaks of his own religious course, of their support under trials, and their growth in numbers.

23. A County Court, held in Boston, thus express themselves: "Having taken into consideration the many means that have been used with the church at Braintree, and hitherto nothing done to effect, as the obtaining the ordinances of Christ among them, this Court therefore orders and desires Mr. Moses Fisk to improve his labors in preaching the word at Braintree, until the church there agree and obtain supply for the work of the ministry, or this Court take further order." Mr. Fisk obeyed this judicial requisition, and, by advice of adjacent elders, began to preach at Braintree the 3d of December. Thus was authority exercised where popular disagreement threatened a famine of the bread of life.

December 1. A letter from Mr. Eliot to Mr. Ashurst, treasurer of the Missionary Corporation, states his indebtedness, as he had to the Commissioners here. It adds that they had not answered him on the subject, and therefore he had drawn a bill for £80 on the treasurer in London, for his debt to Mr. Usher. It has the remark of Eliot, that let this matter turn as it may, "I am resolved, through the grace of Christ, I will never give over the work so long as I have legs to go."

Benjamin Sweetser, of the Baptist church, worshipping at Nod-

* Hull's MS. Diary. † Middlesex MS. Rec. ‡ Backus, vol. i. p. 404-5.

dle's Island, addresses a letter to Samuel Hubbard, of the Baptist church in Newport, Rhode Island. He imparts Christian consolation to Mr. Hubbard and wife, afflicted with the loss of their only son and child. He observes: "Brother Turner has been near to death, but through mercy is revived, and so has our pastor Gould. The persecuting spirit begins to stir again. Elder Russell and his son, and Brother Foster, are presented to the Court, that is to be this month."

19. John Johnson, of Woburn, is presented* for absence from worship on the Sabbath. He stated that he formerly went to the "Anabaptistical Assembly," but that he had, for some time, worshipped with the congregation where he lived, and was determined so to do. He is excused by paying costs. Hopestill Foster and John Peirce, of the same town, and Matthew Johnson, for "turning their backs on the holy ordinance of baptism," being their first offense of this kind, are admonished and ordered to pay costs. John Russell, of Woburn, for renouncing communion with the church there—being absent frequently of late, from public worship, turning his back on the ordinance of baptism, having joined "the schismatical assembly of the Anabaptists," and "resisted all endeavors" for his reformation—is required to give bond for £10 to appear at the next Court of Assistants in Boston.

As John Wright, Isaac Cole, Francis Wiman, John Wiman, Francis Kendall, Robert Peirce, Matthew Smith and Joseph Wright, members in full communion with the church of Woburn, were presented by the Grand Jury of Middlesex last October,† for refusing to commune with said church and conform with advice from the neighboring churches and other means to rectify their disorder, and not giving sufficient reasons to the County Court for their course, this body order, that the churches of Charlestown, Cambridge, Watertown, Reading and Billerica be requested to send their elders and messengers to the church of Woburn, the last fifth day of March next, "where the brethren presented are required to give a meeting with the church there, and shall have liberty humbly and inoffensively to declare their grievances, and the church also to declare the whole case for the clearing of their proceedings. And after the case is fully heard by the Council," they are to endeavor to heal the difficulties, and make return to the next Court at Cambridge.

Eleazer Mather, of Northampton, publishes this year an "Exhortation to the present and succeeding generation in New England, to endeavor that the Lord's gracious presence may be continued with posterity, being the substance of his last sermons preached." It has an address by Increase Mather, to the church and inhabitants of the same town. Both productions were worthy

* Middlesex Ct. Rec.

† Ibid.

1672.]

of their subject, and of conformity from the population, for whose benefit they were sincerely intended.

1672. January 16. Samuel Phillips, pastor of Rowley church, writes* to the Rev. John Woodbridge, of Newbury. The latter sent to the former a defense of the Newbury brethren's continuance of coming to the Lord's table, though the last Council on their difficulties advised them to cease from so sacred a service until they were better disposed towards each other. Mr. Phillips again dissents from Mr. Woodbridge's judgment, and assigns good reasons.

February 5. A letter is addressed by Philip Nye, John Owen, William Hook, John Collins, and nine other dissenting ministers, in and about London,† to the magistrates and ministers of Massachusetts. It acknowledges the receipt of theirs, dated the preceding August 21st, and refers to the topics of its contents. Before it proceeds to notice these particularly, it uses the subsequent language: "It hath pleased the infinitely wise God to make of us in our stations, and also of the conditions which he hath measured out to his people, amongst whom he hath placed us, from whom, as well as ourselves, you cannot expect (as things stand with us) to receive that fruit that either your need calls for or our love would produce, were we not ourselves, together with the churches of Christ in these nations, intangled in many straits." With regard to Harvard College, for which help was asked through their influence, the letter states that its authors are thankful for the benefit of the institution, and they with their friends would gladly make large contributions to it, if in their power; but they purpose to do something for the support of the fellows and tutors who may instruct youths "in good literature and fear of the Lord, for future employment in church and Commonwealth." They recommend Dr. Hoar, on the point of sailing for New England, as a suitable person for the Presidency of the College. Their advice had been asked on this matter. They promise, as desired, to use their influence for having students sent over to receive an education at this seminary.

19. Charles Chauncy, President of Harvard College, dies, in his eighty-second year. He left six sons, graduates from this institution, all preachers of the gospel, and, like him, "had an eminent skill in physick." He left a daughter, Sarah, who married Gershom Bulkley. His worthy wife, Catharine, daughter of Robert Eyre, Esq., died a short time before he did. He possessed great talents, was very studious, learned and scientific, excelled as a preacher, was an example of piety, remarkably active till near the close of his days, and filled a long life with distinguished usefulness.

* Coffin's Newbury, p. 105.

† Hutchinson's Coll. p. 429.

When over eighty years old, as he was going to preach on a winter's day, some of his friends advised him not to attempt it,* for if he did he would die in the pulpit, he urged his way more energetically through the snow-drift, saying: "How glad should I be if this should prove true." On the Commencement before his decease, he delivered a farewell oration. After this, he sent for his children, and gave them a father's blessing. He waited for the time of his departure as one who had a strong hope that his death would be followed with eternal life. His publications were a sermon from Amos, 2 c., 11 v., 1655; an election sermon, 1656, as previously noticed; a volume of sermons on Justification, 1659; Antisynodalia Americana, 1662, as before mentioned. He left valuable manuscripts, which fell to the hands of his son Nathaniel's widow, of Hatfield, whose husband used them up in his business. On the tombstone of President Chauncy, as the *Magnalia** states, he is called "a man of unsullied integrity, an accomplished debater, gifted with equal merit in piety and scholarship."

March. John Amanhut† was son of Wannamanhut, sent by his father, a sachem of Massachusetts, to take care of some claims at Martha's Vineyard. Being a serious professor of Christianity, well versed in its principles, and a sufficient reader, he was employed by the Indians to preach for them. His labors among them received the divine blessing. At the date aforementioned, he was called to give account of his ministry.

March 10. The records of the First church in Boston have the subsequent entry. "This day a public contribution was made in the congregation, for the use of the College at Cambridge, at the motion of the Council; and beside the public, there was a private subscription wherein did many show their desire to have it at Boston, by subscribing for Boston ten-fold, five-fold, three-fold and the like. This contribution went over all the country." It amounted to £1,895 2s. 6d., of which Boston gave £800, and of this, £100 were presented by the generous Sir Thomas Temple.‡

15. As a concern for which New England had much sympathy, a royal declaration is made,§ that the ejected ministers of the mother country who are approved for the purpose, may preach "to those of their denomination, by a license from the King in Council." One result of this change was the establishment of a weekly lecture at Pinner's Hall, in London, by Presbyterians and Independents, to sustain the doctrines of the Reformation against "errors of Popery, Socinianism and Infidelity." But the royal indulgence to dissenters was soon prevented by the Test Act, on March 29, 1673, promoted by those of the Protestant class for the purpose of its operating against the Papists.

* *Magnalia*, vol. i. p. 475, 6.

† E. Mayhew, *Ind. Converts*, p. 72, 3.

‡ Holmes, vol. i. p. 362. § Neal, vol. ii. p. 562-5. Salmon, vol. i. p. 190, 201,

1672.]

22. The town of Salem* allow the "Farmers" at the Salem village to have a minister to preach for them. In the church of Salem, two persons who were covenant members by being baptized when children, are publicly censured and admonished for ill-conduct.

April 2. The Middlesex Court† requires that the master of the House of Correction shall bring the persons under his custody, to public worship on the Sabbath, and that constables shall help him if necessary. Andrew Stevenson, the master, said he should resign his office in June, sooner than perform such service. He accordingly left his place.

15. Officers were chosen‡ by the First Boston church. "This day was a church meeting in the town-house, where, after prayer of the elders and some other brethren, the conference about choice of a deacon (succeeded), and our brother Henry Phillips was chosen. At the same time, the necessity of a ruling elder being taken into consideration, and after some debate, our brother Lieut. Thomas Clark was put to the vote and chosen to the office of ruling elder." Other sessions were held on account of some objection to this vote. Four churches were designated the next year for the Council to ordain Mr. Clark; but at another meeting of the church, the matter was put off indefinitely.

23. Of the warm-hearted Puritans who regarded the spiritual prosperity of New England more than all its other interests, was Edward Johnson, who now departed from this life, in his seventy-first year. He came from Herne-Hill, a parish in Kent, to this Colony, in 1630. He resided some time at Charlestown. When the village of this town was set off and incorporated by the name of Woburn, he was one of its principal men. He was their representative in the Legislature from 1643 to 1671, excepting 1648, and was Speaker for a short time in 1655. Till his decease, he was one of the Committee who had care of the Colonial Charter for safe keeping. He was a leading member of the church where he resided. He was devoted to the great object of religious reformation, for which our fathers emigrated to this country. His "History of New England," or "Wonder Working Providence," from 1628 to 1652, verifies such a position. He left a wife, Susan, and children, Edward, George, William, Matthew, John and two daughters. Though the style of his writings falls short of that now mostly popular, they exhibit a spirit fitted more for communion with serious obligation than common practice.

May 1. Two individuals, one, if not both of them, living in Ipswich, are required by the County Court§ to make a public and audible "acknowledgment next lecture day," for asserting "that

* Salem First Ch. Rec.

† Rec. of First Ch. in Boston.

‡ Middlesex Rec.

§ Essex Ct. Rec.

Mr. Parker, of Newbury, had sent a letter to the Lord Archbishop of Canterbury, for help and relief about their troubles at Newbury," and that they "saw a copy of the letter."

6. The town of Salem, by consent of Mr. Higginson and his church, request * Charles Nicholet, who came to Boston with his wife and a child, the 2d of April, from Virginia, to preach for them one year. They also desire him to deliver a lecture once a week. It appears that soon after this, he preached for the Dedham people, who invited him to settle with them. But the congregation of Salem were very earnest that he should continue there. And, as the fragment of an ancient record quoted by the Rev. Dr. Lamson, says: "Both people and minister, men and women, so set upon him and his wife, with great and incessant importunity, that they first overcame Mrs. Nicholet to be willing to live at Salem, rather than at Dedham. He was so far staggered in his resolution that he would put the case to a council of elders." This was done, and the result was that he should remain at Salem.

8. The selectmen of Salem forbid twelve men † to spend their time and money at two ordinaries of the town, in drinking.

10. The Rev. John Collins, of London, writes to Gov. Leverett, by Leonard Hoar, M. D. He recommends the last person who graduated at Harvard, 1650, as fit to be employed in the concerns of this institution. He mentions that a certain Lord was going to travel, and would probably visit the Governor, and if pleased, would be very serviceable to our country.‡

12. Samuel Parris, afterwards involved in the troubles of witchcraft at Salem village, unites with the First church of Boston.

15. Thomas Shepard, of Charlestown, preaches the Election Sermon. His text was from Jeremiah ii. 31. The title was, "Eye-Salve, or a Watchword from our Lord Jesus Christ unto his Churches, especially those within the Colony of the Massachusetts, to take heed of Apostasy." It bears the imprimatur of John Sherman and Urian Oakes, as licensers of the press. The author of it refers to perils from the Familists, who even threatened resistance with the sword, and from the Gortonists, whom he compares to hornets. He expresses his judgment of the good effects produced by the Synod, "in the time of opinions." Alluding to the interposition of civil power in these and other cases, he observes: "It is hoped that this coercive power of a godly magistracy, which we have experienced the benefit of so many ways, being duly managed, shall not be abandoned, nor therefore, a repealing of any wholesome law about religion for the defense and maintaining the gospel among us, or that liberty shall be proclaimed to men of any religion to come and set up shop or schools of seductions among us. To tolerate all things, and to tolerate nothing, (it's an old and true maxim,) both are intolerable."

* Annals of Salem.

† Ibid.

‡ Hutchinson's Coll. p. 435.

1672.]

Referring to Morton's Memorial of Plymouth, he remarks: "I wish the second Colony might be awakened further to take their turn also, and O! that it might be said concerning this and that of the mercies, judgments and great acts of the Lord, never to be forgotten by us, 'As it is written in the Book of the Chronicles of the Governors of the Massachusetts.'"

He mentions, that when he was a boy, ministers' associations met in Cambridge, Boston, Charlestown, Roxbury, etc., with good effect; that the lack of sufficient care for the common schools caused the College to languish by deficiency of students, and that it would be well for such schools to have "foundations," or funds, to educate poor scholars. He speaks of prayer, catechising and repeating sermons in families, as too much neglected. He inquires whether towns of small means should not be assisted by some public fund, to pay their ministers. He addresses the rulers before him: "Stand to your liberties, and let us not be gulled, befooled, deluded, baffled or beaten out of them."

The Court attend to the following subjects. As "a day of sore trouble and hazard to the people of God in general through the present portending commotions and combinations amongst the nations of Europe, threatening no less than war and blood, with all those innumerable evils which do attend the same; but also in that our own dear nation stands so particularly involved, whose sufferings we are bound to reckon as our own, and further cannot but expect, that as we are of the same nation, and many ways dependent thereon, so also we must be sufferers with them,"—a public Fast is appointed for the 13th of June, to seek the Lord for deliverance, and especially for that "of his church and people from an anti-christian yoke." Another Fast is ordered to be observed by members of the Legislature, on the 22d instant. Urian Oakes, John Eliot, Thomas Cobbet, John Oxenbridge, Samuel Whiting, Sen., and Increase Mather, are invited to "carry on the work of that day by prayer and preaching, and any Elders to be present, if they desire it."

Seeing that workmen refuse employment,* unless they can have wine or liquors over their wages, which "tends much to the rooting young persons in an evil practice and by degrees to train them up to a habit of excess," any person who complies with their demand, except in cases of necessity, shall be fined 20/.

The Commissioners for the United Colonies are empowered to sign the articles of Confederation, as again renewed by this Colony, Plymouth and Connecticut. Such a contract was completed the 5th of next September.

A committee, of William Hathorne and Eleazer Lusher, are appointed to make a record of Divine providences, and particularly

* Records of Mass. Gen. Ct.

of "what hath been collected by John Winthrop, Sen., Thomas Dudley, John Wilson, Sen., and Edmund Johnson, or any other, that so matter being prepared, some meet person may be appointed by this Court, to put the same into form, that so, after perusal, it may be sent to the press."

The Messengers requested by the last Legislature to visit Newbury about their ecclesiastical difficulties, make a report. This states that, however the Congregational part had a small majority, they were not regular in withdrawing from the rest and worshipping separately as the church; in admonishing and suspending Mr. Parker, their pastor, from his ministry, and choosing ruling elders and appointing the time for their ordination. It also disapproves of Mr. Parker and his friends' suspending their opponents, though the former were offended, as out of order and not calculated to promote peace. It advises Mr. Woodman, leader of the separatists, to attend public worship, so far as his infirmities allow; Mr. Woodbridge to discontinue his labors with the church, so that these may choose the minister they wish for; that, "hereafter, ecclesiastical offenses be not too suddenly brought to civil courts, without consulting with churches, being contrary to Colossians ii. 5—7; that, owing to the "great age and weakness of Mr. Parker and thereby his unfitness to manage church discipline," a ruling elder or two, approved by both parties, may be chosen. It then counsels the parties to use proper means for a mutual reconciliation. The Court sanction the report and desire that its proposals be obeyed. They also have a letter prepared for Newbury church, in which they express a similar wish. They say in the close of it, "Should there be a failure, we shall be necessitated to advise what further course is to be taken, according to God, that contentions may be removed and peace restored among you."

At their session, the Legislature order "the General Laws and Liberties of the Massachusetts Colony to be revised and reprinted." This was accordingly done. John Usher issued the Laws from the press, and had the copyright of them for seven years. This is the first privilege of the kind of which we have any information, as granted in New England. Under the ecclesiastical head, we have the following. Churches may be gathered in a Christian way, with the approbation of magistrates and elders. No person who joins a church not so approved, can "be admitted to the freedom of the Commonwealth." Every church has liberty to keep days of Fasting and Prayer and of Thanksgiving. Ministers and

NOTE.—The declaration of war by England against Holland, is ordered to "be published by the Marshal General, on May 28, in the three usual places in Boston, by sound of trumpet."

For what Mrs. Ann Harvey had laid out for the encouragement of Massachusetts Government, William Brown is granted three hundred acres of land by Massachusetts.

1672.]

other brethren are allowed to meet monthly, quarterly or otherwise, to consult about Christian and church questions. Private meetings for edification in religion, may be held in an orderly manner. No man shall become the constant preacher of a people, if any "two organic churches, Council of State, or General Court, shall declare dissatisfaction thereat." This was done to secure well-qualified dispensers of the gospel.

Open opposers of the Christian religion and its ministers shall, for the first offense, "be convented and reprov'd openly by the magistrate at some lecture, and bound to their good behaviour." Whoever is chargeable with a second offense of this kind, shall pay five pounds, or "stand two hours openly upon a block or stool, four feet high, on a lecture-day, with a paper fixed on his breast, written in capital letters, *An open and obstinate contemner of God's holy ordinances.*"

Whoever makes disturbance, according to the order of 1646, "upon pretense that the churches were not planted by any new apostle, or that ordinances are for carnal Christians or babes in Christ, and not for spiritual or illuminated persons, shall pay 40/ for every month, so long as he shall continue in his obstinacy."

Every town is required to provide a dwelling-house for their minister. Each County Court is to take measures that all deficiencies of salary for ministers in their jurisdiction are supplied.

That the term *church* might be understood, the Court say, "Be it hereby enacted that by the church is to be meant such as are in full communion only; and that the teaching officer or officers of such church or churches we do intend shall be the minister or ministers to all the people in that town where such church or churches are planted; and that no inhabitant in any town shall act in the calling or election of such officer or minister, until he be in full communion, upon penalty of being accounted a disturber of peace and order, and to be punished by the Court of that shire."

The subsequent passage shows the relation which the Legislature held to the church: "The civil authority here established hath power and liberty to see the peace, ordinances and rules of Christ be observed in every church according to his word, as also to deal with any church-member in a way of civil justice, notwithstanding any church relation, office or interest." On the other hand, every church has "liberty to deal with any magistrate, deputy of Court, or other officer whatsoever, that is a member of theirs, in a church way, in case of apparent or just offense given in their places, so it be done with due observance and respect."

Under the caption of Heresy, the revised laws speak as follows: "If any Christian within this jurisdiction shall go about to destroy the Christian religion, by broaching and maintaining any damnable heresies: as denying the immortality of the soul, or resurrection of the body, or any sin to be repented of in the regenerate, or any

evil done by the outward man to be accounted sin, or denying that Christ gave himself a ransom for our sins, or shall affirm that we are not justified by his death and righteousness, but by the perfection of our own works, or shall deny the morality of the fourth commandment, or shall openly condemn or oppose the baptizing of infants, or shall purposely depart the congregation at the administration of that ordinance, or shall deny the ordinance of magistracy, or their lawful authority to make war or to punish the outward breaches of the first table, or shall endeavor to seduce others to any of the errors or heresies above-mentioned;—every such person continuing obstinate therein, after due means of conviction, shall be sentenced to banishment.”

Whoever denies any of the books of the Old and New Testaments to be the word of God shall, after legal conviction, pay not above £50, or be whipped not more than forty lashes. If he publicly recant before his conviction, he shall be fined not exceeding £10, or be whipped. For a second offense of this sort, he shall be banished or put to death, as the Court may decide.

All persons who have in their hands the books of John Reeves and Lodowick Muggleton, who pretend to be the last two witnesses of Jesus Christ, and do not bring them to the magistrate next to their residence, shall pay £10 for every such book found in their possession, and the books shall be burnt in the market-place in Boston the succeeding lecture-day, by the public executioner.

The laws for banishing Quakers on pain of death, and also for putting to death children who curse or smite their parents, and a rebellious son, and those convicted of idolatry, witchcraft and blasphemy, are still continued.

As the Legislature, on the 15th of May, invited the elders of the Colony to “consult and advise concerning the present difficult emergencies before them,” the latter body accordingly lay before the former their unanimous opinion.

1. That the civil constitution or liberties of the Commonwealth, are founded on the Charter.

2. That this document is to be inviolably observed in “the right constitution of Courts and regular distribution of differing interests of power and privilege between the magistrates and the freemen, and the distinct exercise of legislative and executive power by those who are by patent vested therewith.”

3. That in cases of diversity as to opinion in public concerns, a just accommodation, consistent with the patent and the general satisfaction and safety, is advisable.

4. That however they approve of former advice given by their brethren in the ministry, and suited to circumstances of their time,

NOTE.—A Committee, consisting of Governor Leverett and others, are instructed to report at the next session, “some order for a Chancery Court.”

1672.]

that the negative votes should be "in the major part of both Houses, yet, for a present accommodation, we humbly conceive that our honored magistrates' bill referring to the issuing of all debates in matters of judicature, in case of the non-concurrence of both Houses voting apart, unto the vote of the whole Court met together, or the major part of them, whereof the Governor, Deputy Governor and four magistrates, or otherwise five magistrates at least, shall always be a part to the making any valid act. We say we humbly conceive that a mutual concession hereunto and a joint concurrence herein, may be a fit medium of such an accommodation as that which falls within a true latitude of interpretation." The elders proceed to give reasons why the magistrates should have a voice in questions before the General Court, as well as the deputies thereof. They remark, that "to leave the final determination of judicature in any case altogether to the freemen, doth tend to evacuate our great liberty and privilege of election."

5. That as the General Court have less trouble in civil and criminal cases, more power be granted to inferior courts of judicature.

6. That when the deputies in General Court are called to act as judges of a case before them, they shall be sworn so far as the magistrates are.

7. That cases already before the Legislature be settled "in the wonted way of procedure."

In conclusion, the elders observe: "Being under the awful sense of the great necessity of the amicable agreement of both Houses in such a time as this, we do most humbly and unfeignedly beseech Him, who is the Wonderful, Counsellor, and Prince of Peace, that He would guide you by his counsel and fill you with the spirit of wisdom, that you may be able to discern and conclude upon such a way of agreement in this matter, as may be for the glory of his name, welfare of his people here, and your account with joy in the great day of the Lord."

Signed by Samuel Whiting, Sen., John Oxenbridge, for substance, Thomas Cobbet, John Sherman, John Higginson, Thomas Thacher, Sen., William Hubbard, John Wilson, James Allen, for substance, Samuel Phillips, Samuel Torrey, Antipas Newman, John Hale, for substance, and Josiah Flint.

All persons convicted of "railing and scolding,* shall be gagged or set in a ducking stool, and dipt over head and ears three times, as the Court or magistrate shall judge meet."

They who keep houses of ill fame, shall be severely whipped through the streets at the cart's tail with thirty stripes, and committed to houses of correction on hard fare and hard labor. When refusing to work, they shall be whipped ten stripes every night and once a week at least. The leader, followed by companions in

* Hutchinson's Coll. p. 436. Mass. Gen. Ct. Rec.

guilt, shall wear with them, "hair frocks and blue caps." They shall be fastened to a hand-cart and draw filth through the streets to the sea-side, going to the gallows of each county, as ordered by the Court, and thence to the house of correction.

18. A letter is written* by Peter Tillton, a deputy of the General Court, to his wife at Hadley: "As to news from England, all men, both wise and others," think there "will be as black a day as the world hath known. There is another ship expected, in which one Dr. Hoar, a minister, is expected."

28. Rev. Nathaniel Mather dates his preface to "the Power of Congregational Churches," published this year in London and Ireland, by John Davenport, in 1645, as a reply to Mr. J. Paget's "Defense of Church Government exercised in Classes and Synods." He states that Mr. Davenport's answer was lost on its passage to England, and that he re-wrote it in 1652, as the editor undertook to have it printed according to request, made from New England, several months previously, for such a purpose. He and others thought the particular time was come when this work should be laid before the public, so that the rulers of the kingdom may perceive that "the principles and practices of the Congregational way are not in truth so incompatible with the power of the supreme magistrate in matters of religion, as some would represent, nor such as may render them suspected to civil powers, and that therefore we may not for these our principles be accounted unworthy to enjoy a peaceable dwelling in our native land, the weal whereof is more dear to us than our lives, or all our private earthly enjoyments in it." Little over two months had elapsed since the Executive of England had shown a relenting towards ministers ejected for non-conformity, so far as to allow them licenses for preaching to those who wished to hear them. Among such sufferers was Mr. Mather, who wished to improve an opportunity, favorable for the enlargement of their privileges, and a diminution of the odium resting upon them for the influence of their opinions in the promotion of the Commonwealth under Cromwell.

June 3. Urian Oakes preaches an Artillery Election Sermon. This was entitled, "The unconquerable, all-conquering, and more-than-conquering soldier, or the successful war, which a believer wageth with the enemies of his soul."

14. In a letter† of William Hamlit, a member of the Baptist church, which he seems to have sent to Newport, R. I., he observes, "I perceive you have heard as if our brother Russell had died in prison. Through grace he is yet in the land of the living, and out of prison bonds; but is in a doubtful way as to recovery of his outward health."

18. A General Court hold its session at Edgartown,‡ Martha's

* Hutch. Coll. p. 441. † Backus, vol. i. p. 441. ‡ Nantucket Papers, p. 42.

1672.]

Vineyard, and pass the succeeding laws. Every person, who sells intoxicating drink, as "wine or any strong drink, beer only excepted," to Indians, shall be fined 5/. a pint, or, if so charged, may clear himself by oath from such accusation, or if he "scruple in conscience" to swear "according to the usual custom," "may purge himself by subscription." An individual seen drunk shall pay 10/. No person is to sell less than a gallon of "liquor, wine, or other strong drink by retail, nor beer, cyder or the like, under the barrel, or quarter cask, unless he have a license," on penalty of £5. No inhabitant is allowed to tarry in a licensed house longer than a half hour, on penalty of 5/., unless he can give a sufficient reason to the magistrate, before whom he may be called to answer. Whoever profanely swears or curses, shall pay 10/.

19. The members of Malden church are required to defray expenses of the late Council, according to their taxes. John Wright, Isaac Coale, Robert Peirce and Matthew Smith,* for withdrawing from communion with that church, are admonished by the Court and ordered to pay costs.

July 17. The First church of Boston† desire Richard Cook and Simon Rogers "to set the Psalms on Sabbath and Lecture days."

September 1. A letter of this date‡ is ordered by the Baptist church, who worshiped on Noddle's Island, for William Hiscox and other Seventh-day Baptists, who had seceded the last year from their brethren, under John Clarke, and formed themselves into another church. It expresses a Christian spirit, and earnestly desires them to heal the breach, so called.

5. Articles of confederation are again signed§ by Commissioners of Connecticut, Plymouth and Massachusetts. The introduction runs thus: "Whereas, we all came into these parts of America with one and the same end and aim, viz., to advance the kingdom of our Lord Jesus Christ, and to enjoy the liberties of the gospel in purity and peace. And whereas, in our settling, by a wise providence of God, we are further dispersed upon the seacoasts and rivers than was first intended, so that we cannot, according to our desire, with conveniency, communicate in one government and jurisdiction; and whereas, we are compassed with people of several nations and strange languages, which hereafter may prove injurious to us and our posterity, and forasmuch as the natives have formerly committed sundry insolencies and outrages upon several plantations of the English, and have several times combined themselves against us; and seeing by reason of our distance from England, (our dear native country,) we are hindered from that humble way of seeking advice and reaping those comfortable fruits of protection which we might otherwise well expect; we therefore account it our duty, as

* Middlesex Ct. Rec.

† Ch. Rec.

‡ Backus, vol. i. p. 411-13.

§ Hazard's Coll. vol. ii. p. 521-6.

well as safety, to enter into a confederation for mutual help and succor in all our future concerns; that as in nation and religion, so in other respects, we be and continue one." The Colonies so united agree to give each other "advice and succor upon all just occasions, both for preserving and propagating the truth and liberties of the gospel, and for their own mutual safety and welfare." In this connection, they leave the declaration of an offensive war to the several General Courts, and not to their Commissioners, as under their former constitution. These Commissioners, as previously, are to be in "church fellowship" with the confederate Colonies, who were of the Congregational order. However each session of the Commissioners was to be triennial, except in extraordinary events, yet they were to be elected yearly for managing the missionary funds, while such care was left principally for those of Massachusetts.

The Commissioners of the Union assembled at Plymouth, attend to several items of business.* They receive letters from Messrs. Eliot, Mayhew and Fitch, giving an account of the gospel's progress among the Indians, and directed to the Corporation in England. Thomas Danforth is instructed to have all the Bibles and "other prints" for the Indians bound up, so that they may not be lost. A letter is written to Roger Williams in reply to his, and another to Uncas, encouraging him to attend on missionary preaching.

6. Disbursements for the missions one year are £407 18s. 6d. John Eliot was paid £50; ten Indian teachers and ten rulers under him, the former £5 each, and the latter 20/ each, £60; Waban, £5; Daniel Gookin, £20; Richard Bourn, of Sandwich, £35; three Indians under him, £15; "Old Mr. Mayhew," of the Vineyard, £40; Indian teachers and rulers on "Martin's" Vineyard and Nantucket, under his direction, £57; James Fitch, of Hartford, the revenue of "Mr. Mouthe's gift for the year past," £31 10s.; for well deserving Indians who assist him, £10; diet, fuel, clothes and schooling of an Indian youth at Cambridge, £18 8s.; John Cotton, of Plymouth, £20; Mr. Usher's bill of disbursements, £23 5s. 6d.; Commissioners of Connecticut to distribute among well-deserving Pequods and others thereabouts, £10; Marmaduke Johnson, for printing, stitching and cutting a thousand Indian Logic Primers, £6; clothing for a blind Indian called Bartimeus, £5; Mr. Danforth, for physic and other charitable expenses to Indians, £1 15s.

9. The Commissioners of the Union† write to the President of the Missionary Corporation in England. They acknowledge the reception of his communication, dated the 20th of March. Speaking of the Christian Indians, they say: "We dare not judge any

* Hazard's Coll. vol. ii. p. 527, 8.

† Ibid. p. 530-1.

1672.]

other but that the Lord hath amongst them some of his elect ones, the redemption of whose souls is precious in his sight, and that this work is indeed owned of himself. That it is attended with difficulties, many discouragements from men and devils, as you may see in part by Mr. Fitch's letter, renders (it) the fitter object for the wisdom, power and compassion of an Infinite and Unchangeable Being, who taketh most delight to magnify his own glorious name in the midst of man's misery and nothingness." They observe, that had the funds sent over been more, they should have appropriated part of it for several, who promised to be useful as missionaries; "one whereof is the son of the Reverend and good man, Mr. Mayhew, deceased, who being born on the Island called Martha's Vineyard, and now grown to man's estate and there settled; is an hopeful young man and hath their language perfectly." They thank the President for his readiness to assist the College at Cambridge, "although that society doth at present labor under sundry discouragements, partly arising by death of their late President, and also by the decay of their buildings, which were made in our infancy, yet are now in a hopeful way to be again supplied with an able President, and also with a new building of brick and stone, for the effecting whereof there is already a contribution made according to our low condition. We hope that our endeavors herein will be a blessing to the Indians as well as to the English."

11. Moses Fisk, son of John Fisk, settled at Chelmsford, is ordained over the church of Braintree. He graduated at Harvard College, 1662, and was admitted freeman, 1666.

25. The Topsfield church* invite the Rowley church to take part in the ordination of Jeremiah Hobart over them on the 2d of October. The invited decline for several reasons. One was, that they had prosecuted their late pastor, Mr. Gilbert, at Court. Another was, that it was too soon to settle Mr. Hobart, who had been among them "scarcely a year."

October 8. General Court assemble. President Hoar, doctor in physic, who was inaugurated over the College, September 10, is admitted a freeman of the Colony. They confirm his office and allow him a salary of £150. The Legislature grant a Charter for the College, which repeats the idea of the preceding Charter, that in all its resources the Institution "may conduce to the education of English and Indian youth, there residing, in all good literature and godliness."

A Fast, to be the 24th of December, for increase of "ignorance, pride, sensuality, security, worldly-mindedness, contention and strife in some societies, civil and sacred, unsubduedness to God's order in families, churches and Commonwealth,—unusual diseases the latter part of summer, which still continue in some places,

* Rowley Ch. Rec.

whereby many useful persons have been removed by death; unseasonable rains in the late hay-harvest, whereby many have sustained considerable damage;" for the churches of Europe, and especially those of England, involved in wars of "the Protestant nations."

A settlement is allowed,* named Squakeake, of six miles square, on Connecticut river. The committee are "to take special care that a godly preacher be placed there as soon as there are twenty families settled."

John Payne and others are granted a tract of land equal to ten miles square, near Hudson river; to have free trade with the natives for twenty-one years, and after settling twenty families there, to maintain "a godly and orthodox ministry."

Edward Naylour is relieved from his banishment of twenty miles from Boston; is to receive his books, papers and estate; to have the care and education of his children, if he give security so to do, and to treat his wife well.

15. Antipas Newman, supposed to be a son of Rev. Samuel Newman, of Rehoboth, dies at Wrentham. Hull intimates as though the spotted fever caused his decease. He preached among his people in 1657, and was ordained over them, December, 1663. He married Elizabeth, daughter of Governor John Winthrop. She had five children, John, Samuel, Waitstill, Elizabeth and Sybil, who survived him. His widow married Zerubbabel Endicott, of Salem, who was a son of Governor John Endicott. Mr. Newman was a literary, able and faithful minister. Bradstreet, in his Journal, says that "his death was much lamented."

November 8. The diary of Hull contains the subsequent passage: "The divisions of the church of Newbury were matters of great exercise to the churches and ministers, and to the General Court. Many too much abetting one Edmund Woodman and his party, viz., about five magistrates and above twenty deputies, and two ministers, viz., Mr. James Allin and John Oxenbridge, but it pleased God, by a committee sent by the General Court," to convince and unite them. As before stated, Mr. Woodman was a leader of the Congregationalists, while the Rev. Mr. Parker was followed by the Presbyterians of the Newbury church. The manner in which Mr. Hull speaks of Messrs. Allin and Oxenbridge, may be accounted for by the fact, that they considered him and others, who left the First Boston church to form what has been long called "the Old South Church," as walking disorderly.

Referring to such compromises, Hubbard remarks:† "During these intervals of time (1666 to 1671 and may be extended to 1672) several contentious breaches, that happened in sundry of the churches of the Massachusetts, were orderly composed, though

* Mass. Gen. Ct. Rec.

† Hubbard's New England, p. 608, 9.

1672.]

not without the interposition of the civil magistrate, who is *custos utriusque tabulae*, which it is thought meet rather to intimate in this place, than pass over with silence, seeing thereby a full answer is given to the main objections, that use to be made against the Congregational churches of New England, as if there was no way found to end differences, that might occasionally arise in or amongst the churches of that constitution." He further observes, that the common method of settling ecclesiastical difficulties, was through the advice of a Council, composed of elders and messengers from adjacent churches. But in case of difference among members of the Council, or "contumacy in any of the offending parties, the civil magistrates' help being implored by them that are aggrieved, that useth always to put a final end to all matters of controversy amongst any of their churches."

11. James Bailey, of Newbury,* who began to preach at Salem village about October, 1671, is voted by the people there, £40 for his first year's labor among them.

December 7. Richard Bellingham dies, aged over eighty years. He was born in England and educated for a lawyer. He was the only surviving patentee, named in the Royal Charter of Massachusetts. He arrived at Boston, 1634, and August 3, with his wife Elizabeth, united with the church there. As he began his purpose and endeavors for the advancement of Puritanism in New England, so he continued them to the end. His resistance to the Quakers rendered him the object of severe remarks, as in Coddington's "True Love." However he had the faults of human nature, yet he was remarkable for Christian integrity. He stood with Davenport in the controversy against the half-way covenant. He left a second wife, whom he married, 1641, performing the ceremony himself, as a magistrate, which cost him a presentation of the grand jury, though he was cleared. After the decease of his wife and son and his son's daughter, he gave his whole estate at Winnisimmet "to be an annual encouragement to some godly ministers and preachers, who may be judged by my Trustees faithful to those principles in church discipline, which are owned and practiced in the First church of Christ in Boston, of which I am a member, a main one whereof is, that all Ecclesiastical jurisdiction is committed by Christ to each particular organic church, from which there is no appeal, visible saintship being the matter, and express covenanting the form of the church." As to what he wished of his Trustees, he proceeds: "I do desire them to observe these instructions. 1. Minister's house and meeting-house be built at Winnisimmet, etc. 2. Lots for dwellers and inhabitants be given out, and conveniency of land to the minister's house. 3. That four or six young students be brought up for the ministry, as the estate will bear. 4. That

* Annals of Salem.

something be allowed yearly to any godly Congregational minister, who shall be willing to settle in that place, etc. That every quarter of the year one sermon be preached to instruct the people of Boston in church discipline according to the word of God, and such compensation be given to each preacher as my Trustees think meet." Though the Court set aside this will as impairing the rights of Bellingham's family, still it shows the prevalent bias of his motives.

This year Joseph,* an Indian, and a member of the church at Hassanamesitt, subsequently Grafton, collects a small society of Indians at Chabanakongkomun, afterwards Dudley, and opens to them the instructions of the Bible.

Gookin informs us that six or seven Indians, one of whom was a teacher, with others to assist them, who could speak the English and Indian tongues, undertook a mission to the Wessamomeks, who were reported to be numerous, and acquainted with the language of the New England Indians, and living by a lake "three or four hundred miles south-west from Boston." The missionaries took with them a supply of Indian catechisms, primers, Bibles, and other books, and presents and supplies for their journey to the value of thirty or forty pounds. After they had gone one hundred miles, their conductor complained of sickness, and other difficulties rose, which induced the company to return, to the great disappointment of those interested in their undertaking.

Besse, in his work on the sufferings of the Quakers,† says that Richard Bellingham caused Samuel Eccles and Nicholas Alexander of Jamaica, a Justice of the Peace there, to be banished. He also detained £10 worth of books sent to William Coddington, from England. John Tysoe had a parcel of books and goods seized, and he was apprehended before he came on shore, and then brought to Boston prison because he was a Quaker. The captain who brought Tysoe was required, on £100 penalty, to carry him away the first opportunity. Five strangers, James Lancaster, John Stubs, John Rance, Thomas Eaton and Robert Harnden, Quakers, were put in jail. George Heathcot, the owner and commander of a ship, being of the same persuasion, was alike confined, 1st of August. He refused, when delivering a letter to Governor Bellingham, to take off his hat.

William Coddington wrote to the Governor for his books, warning him against hard dealings with the Quakers.

From the foundation of the First church in Salem,‡ 1629, to the present year, Joscelyn states that forty churches had been gathered in New England, and one hundred and twenty towns granted. A large portion of the latter corporations which belonged to Massachusetts, Connecticut and Plymouth, were strong enough to sup-

* Gookin's Coll. Mass. Hist. Coll. 1 s. vol. i. p. 189, 90.

† Ibid. 1 s. vol. i. p. 167, 8.

‡ Joscelyn's New England, p. 105.

1673.]

port the stated ministry among them, as required by their colonial governments.

1673. January 26. Michael Powell dies. He preached for the Second church of Boston, and was strongly desired by them to become their pastor; but he was prevented by the General Court, because they did not consider his literary qualifications sufficient. He was chosen by the church to the office of ruling elder, and he usefully discharged its duties. He felt himself kept back from a sphere of action to which he believed himself called by Providence. It was his consolation that the Lord reigned in righteousness.

March 2. The Salem church keep a Fast day for "the afflicted state of the people abroad, and also fears of approaching judgments* towards ourselves."

16. A letter of dismission is granted by the First church of Boston to John Harwood, to "Mr. Grenill's church in London, Mr. Matthew Mead being pastor."

29. The King assents to the Test Act,† which requires all officers, civil and military, to partake of the Sacrament, in accordance with the form of the English church, and declare against Transubstantiation. This act allows the exception to our Colonies, so far as they are dissenters.

April 1. As Benanuel Bowers and family neglected public worship,‡ he was fined 40/., the costs of prosecution, and admonished to be more careful. He appealed to the next Court of Assistants. He was fined again, June 17, was admonished and ordered to pay costs, October 7, for allowing labor in his family on the Sabbath; and, December 23, was fined £5 for "reviling the Court of Middlesex and their sentences against him, and several magistrates by name." He was committed till his fine should be paid. He appealed to the Assistant Court.

16. A vote is passed in Newbury that the rate for the minister's salary shall be paid in English grain, as rye, barley, wheat and peas, for one half, and the rest in Indian corn. This is an indication that the two parties there, Congregational and Presbyterian, had laid aside their differences, after existing for more than a quarter of a century, so as to join in common action for the support of a preacher. This person was John Richardson, for whom in December they ordered a house to be erected. He had been one of the Fellows in Harvard College.§

* Among these was that on the foregoing Feb. 4, when increased restrictions were laid by Parliament on the commerce of their Colonies. At the restoration of Charles II., duties of poundage and tonnage were required of them, but now "is the first act which imposed customs on the Colonies alone, to be regularly collected by Colonial revenue officers, approved by Commissioners of the Customs in England."—*Chalmers' Pol. Annals*, 317-20, *Holmes' Annals*, I. 360.

† Salmon's Chron. vol. i. p. 201.

‡ Middlesex Ct. Rec.

§ Coffin's Newbury, p. 113, 4.

May 7. The General Court assemble. The Election Sermon is preached by Urian Oakes. His text is Deuteronomy xxxii. 29, and subject, "New England pleaded with and pressed to answer the things which concern her peace." He views the protection divinely extended to the Jews, like that experienced by the people of the confederated Colonies. From this he discusses the doctrine, "That it is the great wisdom of a people that have been conducted by the mighty hand of God, to a place of rest and liberty, and settled in the possession of singular privileges and enjoyments, to understand and consider what will be the latter end of their sinful ways." He remarks: "Good magistrates, good laws, and the vigorous execution of them, have been the privilege and glory of New England, wherein you have been advanced above most of the nations of the earth. As to your sanctuary mercies, God hath sequestered you from the rest of the world, brought you into these parts of the earth, that you might set up his way and worship in the purity and gospel glory of it. This was the refreshing mercy of God to his people when he first brought them over, and that which sweetened to them many a bitter cup, and supported them under the burdensome inconveniences of a wilderness condition. Here you have seen the orderly administration of the worship and ordinances of God. Church officers duly qualified and set apart to their work, and ruling authoritatively in the Lord, according to the order of the gospel, using their power to edification, and not destruction. And church members allowed and using their liberty and privilege, obeying and consenting in a due exercise of their judgment and discretion. The doctrine of faith duly dispensed, the worship of God solemnly celebrated, without the mixture of human inventions, and discipline administered (for the substance thereof) according to the appointment of Jesus Christ. And in cases of difficulties, emerging through want of light or peace, Councils orderly assembling and acting in the fear of God, ministerially declaring the mind of God, and commending their advice to the churches concerned, without any irregular imposing upon their liberty. And this course also attended generally with the blessing of God for the final issue of controversies and ending of differences. These are such mercies as are almost appropriately yours, if all circumstances be considered, so that hardly any people under heaven equal you in this respect. And for the continuance of these mercies, the Lord hath given you schools of learning, and prospered that work of the education of your children in the hands of those that have undertaken it, both in inferior private schools, and in the College (that nursery of piety and good literature) even to admiration.

"You have here, in this place of retirement, enjoyed peace and rest when other parts of the world have been embroiled, and that dear nation of which you are a part, have been involved in blood

1673.]

and distractions. All that have attempted to devour you, you have offended, and 'evil hath come upon them.' God having blessed you in basket and store, hath raised you up to some considerableness in the world. Indeed, if we cast up the account and sum up all our mercies, this our Commonwealth seems to exhibit to us a specimen, or a little model of the kingdom of Christ upon the earth, not in the wild sense of those that are called Fifth-monarchy men, but in the sober sense of many of our divines, wherein it is generally acknowledged and expected. This work of God, set on foot and advanced to a good degree here, being spread over the face of the earth, and perfected as to greater degrees of light and grace and gospel glory, will be (as I conceive) the kingdom of Jesus Christ so much spoken of. When this is accomplished you may then say, 'He hath taken to himself his great power and reigns; and that the kingdoms of this world are become the kingdoms of our Lord and of his Christ.'

"You have been as a city upon a hill, though in a remote and obscure wilderness, as a candle that gives light to the whole house. You have to a considerable degree, enlightened the whole house (world I mean) as to the pattern of God's house, the form and fashion and outgoings and incomings thereof. God hath been doing (in my apprehension) the same thing, for the substance of it here, that shall be done more universally and gloriously, when Israel shall blossom and bud and fill the face of the world with fruit."

The preacher speaks of the controversies about the half-way Covenant, as recommended by the last Synod, and the seceders from the old church in Boston: "Your differences will make way for those that will make no difference between Synodists and Anti-synodists, Old or New churchmen."

He says: "I fully believe that the Congregational way is the highest step that hath been taken towards reformation, and, for the substance of it, is the very way that was established and practiced in the primitive times according to the institution of Jesus Christ.—They who would forsake the Congregational and pass over to the Presbyterian way, because of some differences of notion among our Congregational divines, or difficulties in the practice and way of the Congregational churches, shall find that they make but a bad exchange. I cannot find, upon my utmost inquiry, that there is any real foundation for such invidious reports, or anything which answers the 'great cry which some make.'"

"He is a madman that will hope for the continuance of our spiritual liberties, if the wall of our civil government be once broken down. He that shall be treacherous to the civil government, as he is injurious highly to the present and succeeding generations, so he is guilty of high treason against the Lord Jesus Christ. It hath been very sage counsel that hath been often given

you, 'Keep to your patent. Stand for the liberties and immunities conferred upon you therein.' My heart's desire and prayer is, that the electors this day may use their privilege well in choosing men fearing God and duly accomplished for government, acquainted with the worth and glory of the interest of Christ among us in church and Commonwealth."

With regard to toleration, he observes: "I profess I am heartily for all due moderation. Nevertheless I must add, that I look upon an unbounded toleration as the first-born of all abominations. This would be not only to open the wicket, but to fling open the great gate for the ready admission and reception of all abominable heresies. The eye of the magistrate is to be to the securing of the way of God, that is duly established. And if anywhere this is to be the concern and duty of rulers, surely it is most of all so in New England, which is originally a plantation not for trade but for religion. We must not be so compassionate to schismatic, turbulent, erroneous persons, as to be cruel, injurious, or unkind to the precious interests of Christ among us. Nature teacheth a man self-preservation. Grace should teach a Christian magistrate (if you will allow me the word) Christ-preservation; I mean the preservation of the truth, ordinances and interest of Christ." The preacher urges that greater encouragement should be given to graduates from the College, when settled as ministers, so that learning may be advanced, as well as spiritual good promoted.

May 10. A letter from the Governor and Assistants* to Robert Boyle is dated. They thank him for speaking in their behalf to the King, while others accused them, and thus allowing himself "an advocate for this part of God's poor church in the wilderness." They notice the charges at Court against them. First, disloyalty. They mention several particulars to the contrary. They did not proclaim the Commonwealth or act in its name, during the absence of the King, "as all other remote colonies did." In public and private, they pray for his Majesty. They sent provisions for the Squadron, under Sir John Harman, in the West Indies. They had forwarded a ship load of masts for the royal navy. Second, they are "factious in the principles of religion." They answer, that their religion was like that of the Puritans under Edward VI., and Elizabeth, who were approved by all true Protestants. Third, they "are a divided people." They reply, that however there is not all the unanimity they wish, because of human imperfection,

NOTE.—The inhabitants of Hadley are granted a plantation of six miles square, near the northward of their bounds, if two hundred and fifty acres be reserved for the Colony; and families enough be there in seven years, and they settle a good orthodox minister.

NOTE.—Poucomptock, afterwards Deerfield, is allowed to be a town on like conditions of reserved land and settlement of a pastor.

* Birch's Life of Boyle, p. 453-8.

1673.]

they bless God they "have much peace and tranquillity in church and state." Fourth, disrespectful treatment of his Majesty's Commissioners. They respond, we dealt with them civilly, though we did not obey their mandates, because subversive of our Charter. Fifth, "great omission as to the baptism of infants." They state that their principles are before the world in print, which allow "visible confederate believers and their seed" the ordinance of baptism, as in "other reformed churches, and as particularly expressed in the result of their last Synod." Sixth, rigidity to other denominations. They allow that "Familism, Anabaptism and Quakerism have been looked upon by the godly here, as great errors, and the promoters of them disturbers of the peace and order;" that, to keep them from inflicting on this country the evils which they had caused elsewhere, they had laws against them, which have been executed on such as "have exceeded the rules of moderation in practice." They add: "We may say truly, that some peaceable Anabaptists and some other sects, who have deputed themselves quietly, have and do live here, under the protection of this government, undisturbedly."

Lastly, grasping after territory, especially the Province of Maine. They state that their Charter includes this Province by clear demonstration; that it was deserted by its proprietor, and its population petitioned to be under the care of Massachusetts, so that their divisions might not destroy them; that it was a source of trouble and expense; that when it was taken from their jurisdiction by order of the royal Commissioners, the people fell into their former collisions, and again besought that they might return to the protection of the Bay Authorities, as a means of keeping them from ruin; that their "main end in taking them" under their government, was to encourage "a pious and able" ministry in their several settlements.

June 19. William Hamlet writes* to Samuel Hubbard, of Newport, that the Baptists are still prosecuted and fined for not attending the public worship allowed by law. He says: "Brother Trumbel and brother Osborne were fined last Court at Charles-town. They have appealed."

27. A letter "from the dissenters,"† afterwards Old South church, to the First church of Boston, is read before the latter and much debated. It was put off to the 8th of the next month, when a vote was passed, that it should be answered by "the three magistrates and the three elders." Mention is subsequently made that such a letter was accordingly prepared, and that the First church made several appointments to consider it, but no record of theirs shows that they did send it to the church who had left them.

It is very likely that the recent sermon of Mr. Oakes, strongly

* Buckus, vol. i. p. 412.

† First Ch. Rec. of Boston.

setting forth the need of harmony with regard to the difference between these two churches, as well as to others, helped to promote the renewal of an application by the members who had withdrawn, for reconciliation, and a more deliberate consideration of such a paper by those to whom it was addressed, than they had been disposed to give on similar occasions.

August 22. In reply to the questions of a brother in the ministry, who seems to have been in England, Eliot gives the following* relative to the Indians. "How many churches and where? There be (through the grace of Christ) six churches gathered, according to the order of gathering churches among the English; one at Natick, one at Hassanamesitt, twenty-eight miles to the west, one at Marshpege, twenty miles east of Plymouth, two at Martin's Vineyard, and one at Nantucket. Are all furnished with church officers? All are, saving the church at Natick, and in modesty they stand off, because so long as I live, they say, there is no need; but we propose (God willing) not always to rest in this manner. Do the English commune with Indians at the Lord's supper? On two occasions at the Vineyard, I administered the elements where such communion took place."

27. The Commissioners† of the Confederation, being assured that the Dutch Fleet, which captured New York, July 30, from the English, intended to do all the damage they could to other Colonies, "are therefore firmly resolved, in confidence of Divine Assistance, accordingly to demean themselves," and do commend to the several General Courts to make all due preparation for defense.

October 15. The Legislature meet. They make an addition‡ to the law about freemen, requiring that each application for any person who is not a church member in full communion, shall be handed to the Secretary at the Court of Election, and be read by this officer during the session, before the whole Court, and not be put to vote until the Court of Election, the following year.

A paper handed to the Commissioners§ for Plantations this year, states that "a freeman must be orthodox, above twenty years old, and worth £200." It also represents that among the most popular of the ministers here are Thomas Thacher, John Oxenbridge and John Higginson. It further says that "there are no musicians by trade; a dancing school was set up, but put down; a fencing school is allowed."

The Court appoint November 20, for Thanksgiving, because of a good harvest and preservation from enemies on neighboring coasts. This has reference to the Dutch Fleet at New York. They speak of "uncomfortable debates at the College." They

* Mass. Hist. Soc. Coll. 1 s. vol. x. p. 124.

† Dutch. vol. i. 3 ed. p. 261.

‡ Gen. Ct. Rec.

§ Chalmers' Pol. Ann. p. 435.

1673.]

recommend this institution to the inspection of the Overseers, "that it may, by the blessing of God, answer the cost and expectation of such whose hearts the Lord hath or shall move to bring up their children in those studies." It was supposed that the students preferred Mr. Oakes, of Cambridge, for the presidency, to Mr. Hoar, and therefore promoted discontent among themselves, and abroad among others, so as to render the situation of the incumbent very unpleasant.

26. Thomas Gilbert dies at Charlestown,* aged sixty-three. The inscription on his tomb says, "Sometime pastor of the church of Christ at Chedlie, in Cheshire: also of the church at Eling, in old England." His decease was at the house of Rev. Mr. Symmes. He is supposed, after leaving Topsfield and residing in Charlestown, to have assisted Mr. Shepard in pulpit duties. Among the events of his life while at Topsfield, was his being complained of in 1666, "for praying that the King and royal family might be converted from idolatry; that cabals and flatteries might be removed from him, and because he had said that his Majesty had broken his covenant with Scotland." The idolatry here spoken of was Romanism, which the King was strongly suspected to have embraced. Mr. Gilbert had felt the opposition of Charles II. to non-conformists in his own ejection from the ministry. For being the first among those so cast out of office, he was called proto-martyr. His epitaph says of him, a "sincere, zealous, devout and faithful minister of Jesus Christ."

30. Deeply affected with the ruinous power of intemperance, and alike impressed with his obligation to attempt the arrest of its progress, Increase Mather edits his "Woe to Drunkards."

December. The selectmen of Salem,† knowing that several parents neglected the education of their children, advertise the latter as ready for being bound to fit persons, who will take better care of them.

This year Captain Wyborn,‡ of the ship *Garland*, states to the Commissioners for the Plantations, that having visited Boston, he found there "very many of the better sort" for the Church of England, had the common prayer books in their houses, and would not have their children baptized after any other form than the Episcopal. This seems to have been a strong representation.

An unprincipled measure is adopted to increase prejudice against the Anabaptists of New and Old England.§ A pamphlet is published in London with the following title: "Mr. Baxter baptized in blood; or a sad history of the unparalleled cruelty of the Anabaptists in New England; faithfully relating the cruel,

* *Magnalia*, vol. i. p. 597.
Cleyborne.

† *Annals of Salem*.

‡ Chalmers calls him

§ Neal's *History of N. E.* vol. i. p. 371, 5.

Backus, vol. i.

p. 410.

barbarous and bloody murder of Mr. Josiah Baxter, an orthodox minister, who was killed by the Anabaptists, and his skin most cruelly flayed off from his body. Published by his mournful brother, Benjamin Baxter, living in Ten-church street, London." This pamphlet was licensed by Dr. Parker, the Archbishop's chaplain, and cried about the streets by hawkers. The author represents his brother as worsting the Anabaptists in a public disputation at Boston; for which, by way of revenge, they sent four ruffians in vizors to his house, a little way out of town, who, after they had bound his wife and three children, first whipped and then flayed him alive. The author concludes: "I have published this narrative *in perpetuum rei memoriam*, that the world may see the spirit and temper of those men, and that it may stand as an eternal memorial of their hatred to all orthodox ministers." But search being made by authority into the contents of this publication, they were found to be a total falsehood. Passengers who first arrived in London after the work was published, deposed that it had no foundation. The King's Council made declaration in the Gazette, to the like import.

1674. January 5. The religious society at Wenham* offer Joseph Gerrish, as their preacher, the following salary: £50, twenty cords of wood, and use of the parsonage, with the condition that he should receive two pounds of butter for every milch cow in his parish, as part payment of the said money. He began his ministerial labors, May 25, 1673, and was ordained there, January 13, 1675.

9. William Hamlet, of the Baptist church,† writes to Samuel Hubbard, of Newport: "The church of the baptized do peaceably enjoy their liberty." He refers to the toleration which they had experienced under the government of Leverett, as chief magistrate, and Samuel Symonds, his deputy.

February 9. Peace takes place between England and Holland, whereby the authorities of Massachusetts had obstructions to their temporal and spiritual interests removed. The duke of York received,‡ on June 1, another patent of his territory in New York and Maine, at Nantucket and Martha's Vineyard, and thus, being a decided papist, renewedly sets up the barriers of Episcopacy against the order of the adjacent non-conformists.

11. It is remarked by Hull,§ "Divisions at Salem, between Mr. Nicholet, who came from Virginia, and supposed, in part, invited by Mr. Higginson, but now an affliction to him. He went out of the church in sermon time on the Lord's day, and drew others after him. Yet he seems to be a zealous preacher and full of affection, though peradventure less fully fixed in some truths."

* Wenham Ch. Rec.

† Backus, vol. i. p. 414.

‡ Salmon's Chronology, vol. i. p. 202. Smith's New York, p. 41.

§ Hull's MS. Diary.

1674.]

19. Mr. Higginson, knowing that a majority of his people were about to invite Mr. Nicholet to preach a third year, which would begin June 14th, called* a church meeting, and stated that he was decidedly opposed to Mr. Nicholet's staying any longer. The reasons of his objection were, that his colleague did not preach sound doctrine; that his continuance was calculated to increase difficulty; and that he was less beneficial, than otherwise, to him. Mr. Higginson laid these reasons before the church, that Mr. Nicholet might have suitable notice to provide for himself elsewhere. Much debate ensued. Mr. Higginson was inclined to take a vote on the subject, but the principal of the brethren advised him to delay, lest a minority of them would join the town and have Mr. Nicholet at all events. He complied, and observed that he felt satisfied with having done his duty. At the beginning of March, the town desired him to attend their meeting, and asked his reasons for objecting to Mr. Nicholet's preaching. He answered, "You know." When they stated that they wished for his assistant to abide with them another year, he said that he should be passive but not concur.

March 3. Benanuel Bowers, on an appeal from Middlesex Court to the Court of Assistants, has his sentence confirmed,† to pay £5 and costs, and stand committed to Cambridge prison until he discharge the same.

7. A constable of Boston discovered, last Lord's day, in time of public worship, in the house of Nicholas Moulder, certain Quakers, as George Cole, speaking to those present, the said Moulder and wife Christian, Stephen Hussey, David Fogg, John Somes, Joshua Buffum, Ann Gillam, Martha Almy, Eliphaz Stratton and Hester Drue. Being arraigned, they were admonished and told that "the law would be too hard for them, and they must, if they fell into the law's snare, pay the penalty thereof."

16. Moses Paine, constable, reports‡ that, by a warrant from the Deputy Governor, Samuel Synonds, dated the 13th, to prevent a meeting of Quakers in Boston, he took two men with him, on the Sabbath, the 15th, to the house of Nicholas Moulder; that he found him, John Somes, Stephen Hussey, William Mumford, David Fogg, John Holloway, Nathaniel Drue, John Sempsted, Ann Gillam, Martha Almy, Eliphalet Stratton, Patience Drue, and Isaac F——, assembled there, near the last bell ringing, in the afternoon; that he warned them to disperse, but they refused, "replying we had nothing to do to disturb them."

April 7. Samuel Danton§ and wife, of Reading, who neglected to attend public worship, are charged with bringing up

* Annals of Salem.

† Court of Assistants Rec.

‡ MS. Papers in Mass. Hist. Soc. Library.

§ MS. Middlesex Ct. Rec.

their children in an irreligious manner, and the selectmen are authorized to dispose of the children to "service or apprenticeship," where better care will be taken of them.

Edmund Parker, of Lancaster, accused of a similar offense, is admonished, and the selectmen are required to inspect him and his family.

10. Rev. John Collins, of London,* writes to Governor John Leverett. "New York being restored by the peace, one Mr. Andrews (Andros) is appointed Governor, a man I know not. Some rumor is maliciously spread at Court, that you have made peace with the Dutch there, which is obviated by the readiness of some persons to show the falsehood of it. I hope nothing will for this year disturb you, and if anything do arise, it will be from New York and the government there. I have, therefore, greatly encouraged some gentlemen, your friends, who would purchase it of his Royal Highness, as thinking it will be much for your peace, who are about it. How it will issue, I know not." The writer, being a graduate from Harvard and a strong advocate for New England Puritanism, seems to have been apprehensive, that, as the Duke of York was openly the supporter of Papacy, his government, administered by a Deputy supposed to be like him in religion, would be adverse and give the English colonists much trouble at New York and Maine. It is likely, also, that he knew that the Duke's charter gave him a claim to the country immediately west of the Connecticut, which, if enforced, would produce a collision between the authorities on that river and those empowered by his Highness. The movement to purchase him out of such territory, was, therefore, very judicious.

The correspondent proceeds: "I hear the King is offended, that some of your ships take in their loading from Virginia and go to France and defraud his customs, as also from other plantations." This complaint was often made in England, because part of the colonial vessels, instead of going directly thither in order to pay duties, as the act of trade demanded, though bound to other European ports, sailed directly for these places. He remarks as to the "presaging of men's minds, of some dangers of papists and popery." He mentions the death of Sir Thomas Temple, in London, who was a member of the Boston church, and deceased the preceding 27th of March. He says that "melancholy and grief" was the cause of his departure, in consequence of being slandered. "I saw neither disease nor pain, that would hasten his end, but his spirit broken, his inward estate dark, wherein God did enable me to do him some small service. I hope he had the root of the matter in him and is gone home to rest."

Mr. Collins continues: "Your concussions you have at the

* Hutchinson's Coll. p. 442-6.

1674.]

College, do greatly grieve me; and so much the more, that no friend hath been pleased to give me a true state of it, but all, I gather from them, I see, are wholly of one side. It causeth a great rumor here, and is greatly aggravated to the President's reproach, in whom I am concerned, for he was a member with us, but it seems has joined himself with the Third church of Boston, which surpriseth me, although I do judge his relation thereby to us is erased; all that I would say is, that it hath by our New England friends here been laid as a reproach upon all the elders, yet I think without cause; for if our letter be viewed, you will not find that we did recommend him to be your President; we judged that too much for us to undertake, nor did we excite him to come or urge him upon such hopes. It was his own eager desire after it, and his thinking that he might be serviceable there. All we said was, that since he was prepared to come, we thought him one that might be helpful in your college work, and left it with you to judge how." He then observes that a letter from Mr. Leverett had just come to his hand, on this very subject, and adds, "I hope God will please to heal that breach, or to direct you to what may be most for the good of the College."

16. The Rev. John Knowles addresses* a letter from London to Governor Leverett. "It is very grievous to your friends here, not only to us ministers, but your Commissioners for the College, to hear of the great breach that is made in it. We wonder at the occasion of it; that they do not either strengthen the hands of Mr. Hoar, that so the work may go on, or else some other able man may be put into the place. For the wound will widen by delays; and if the College die, the churches (as some judge) will not live long after it. Let me assure you that here is at present a great design of foot for the regulation of New England, but you have no man here to prevent your trouble or speak a word for you. Your country ought to be at some charge here to answer for it, or else I clearly see you never shall be long quiet. I pray you conceal my acquainting of yourself with it; the thing is true." The writer probably refers to the endeavors for taking from Massachusetts the jurisdiction of Maine and New Hampshire, and especially to the long and repeated project of nullifying the civil and ecclesiastical privileges of New England, by the imposition of a general Governor over them.

Thomas Gould dies† between the 25th and 30th of this month. He was a founder of the First Baptist church in Massachusetts, which was gathered in Charlestown, and worshiped at Noddle's Island and afterwards in Boston. He was among those who officiated in its ministerial duties. Though called to endure hardness for aiding to introduce a new form of baptism which seemed to his

* Hutchinson's MS. Papers, p. 267.

† Suffolk Prob. Rec.

opponents as a useless disturbance of the peace, yet he appeared strongly persuaded in his own mind of being correct, and did much to promote the advancement of his denomination. Elder Russell observed of him: "He proved an eminent instrument in the hand of the Lord for carrying on this good work of God in its low and weak beginnings." He left wife, Mary, and children, Samuel, not of age, Mary Skinner, Mehitable Goodin, Hannah Gould, Nathaniel Hayward and two children, Mary Buncar, and Abigail Shapley.

May 27. The General Court assemble at Boston. Samuel Torrey, of Weymouth, preaches the Election Sermon. The subject was Reformation. The text was Revelation ii. 5.—"Remember therefore from whence thou art fallen, and repent, and do the first works." A preface to it by Increase Mather, has the subsequent passages. "We may conclude that the Lord intended some great thing, when he planted these heavens and laid the foundation of this earth, and said unto New England, (as sometimes to Zion,) Thou art my people. And what should that be, if not that so a Scripture pattern of Reformation as to civil, but especially in ecclesiastical respects, might be here erected, as a first-fruits of that which shall in due time be accomplished the whole world throughout, in that day when there shall be one Lord, and his name one over all the earth. The first design of New England was purely religious, but now we begin to espouse and are eagerly pursuing another, even a worldly interest."

The author of the discourse shows his views with regard to the Baptists and the Quakers of his day. "Such I take to be the transgression of those who do grossly and scandalously profane any of the holy ordinances of Christ, in the administration; but much more of those who do both professedly and practically deny most, if not all fundamentals, both of faith and order, and are known and acknowledged so to do by all the reformed churches in the world." With such impressions he supposed that these denominations should not be tolerated by law in their principal deviations from the Congregational order.

He urges as a means of reformation, "the full and faithful discharge of duty to the children of the Covenant."

In the connection he observes: "The corruption of churches doth begin in families, and if there be no hope of family reformation, there is no hope of church reformation." As to the children of the church, he remarks: "If we unchurch them, either doctrinally or practically, by the general and total neglect of them, and our duty toward them, we do hereby lay the foundation of the apostasy both of these churches and of the whole generation." He proceeds: "We must labor to recover our first New England interest; that is, that interest upon which this people and these churches were first founded, as to their religious constitution, which

1674.]

is God and religion. This is the only uniting interest ; our very hearts and souls will cleave and unite most entirely in love, with peace and union, in our God and our religion. This interest will make a people of one heart and of one soul."

Addressing the magistrates who are about to be elected, he says : "It is your concernment to uphold this Government in the full and whole interest and influence of it, unto all the ends of it ; especially this great and main end of it, the preservation and propagation of religion."

Mr. Torrey and Joshua Moody are thanked by the Court, for the great and very acceptable pains which they took in their late Election Sermons, and that they be desired to print them "with as much speed as may be."

It is ordered,* that no single woman, and no wife in the absence of her husband, shall "entertain or lodge any inmate or sojourner, with the dislike of the selectmen of the town, or magistrate, or commissioner, who may have cognizance thereof," on penalty of £5 a week, or whipping, not above ten stripes.

As leave is now granted to have a printing press in some other town besides Cambridge, an addition of Rev. Thomas Thacher and Rev. Increase Mather, is made to the licensers for its proper regulation.

One committee of the Court had visited Marlborough to settle serious divisions there, and another are appointed for a similar purpose with regard to Mendon. The troubles of this place, being of a municipal and ecclesiastical kind, were adjusted by the Fall session.

June 4. Robert Thomson, of London, writes to Governor Leverett.† He observes : "Being at the Corporation for the Propagating the Gospel among the Indians, I found the commissioners' letter did not encourage the sending any stock into the country, but, upon consideration amongst themselves, have at last resolved to send some, remitting it to the hands of Mr. John Richards and Mr. Peter Sergeant, to be improved for that work. I wish I may not be a prophet (as I have been twice some amongst you) in this, that I fear another war."

15. A member of Harvard College,‡ "being convicted of speaking blasphemous words concerning the Holy Ghost, is sentenced to be publicly whipped before all the scholars ; suspended as to taking his degree of Bachelor ; sit alone by himself in the hall, uncovered, at meals, during the pleasure of the president and fellows, and be in all things obedient, doing what exercise is appointed him by the president, or else be finally expelled the College."

* General Court Records.

† Hutchinson's Coll. p. 449, 50.

‡ Sewall's MS. Diary.

30. An individual, for slandering Rev. Mr. Higginson,* of Salem, is sentenced to apologize for it before the assembly on lecture day, and audibly crave his pardon, or be whipped fifteen stripes, and imprisoned till a bond be given for £5 to keep the peace.

July. Robert Boyle, in writing to some one in the Colony, makes the subsequent request.† “When you see any of the principal magistrates of New England, you will oblige me to take an occasion to let them know, that whereas, some months ago, I received from several of them a letter apologetical, concerning answers to misrepresentations that they feared had been made of their affections and actions, I had a just sense of the honor they were pleased to do me, and used my endeavors, perhaps not altogether unsuccessfully, to have the particulars they allege for themselves taken notice of by those two or three persons of our courts on whose good opinion it most concerns them to stand right.” He adds, that he thinks it would be greatly for the benefit of the Colony to have some accredited agent in London to look out for their interests.

28. A letter from John Collins,‡ of London, is addressed to Governor Leverett. He remarks: “Some stirrs are in Scotland about the late impositions; what they will produce, time will show. Referring to the Government here, he observes: “I am sorry they should not yet have their eyes opened to see the vanity and fruitlessness of persecuting Quakers, or any others, who are otherwise peaceable.”

August 24. A reply§ from Governor Leverett is made, with reference to Mr. Hoar, President of the College. He observes: “The doctor’s opposers lose ground, and I hope the work will yet be carried to an end.” He indicates a dislike that the President had united with the Third church of Boston, and that he had not taken a regular dismission from Mr. Collins’s church. He proceeds: “Your brother Moody hath been lately here with us, a very sorrowful widower by death of his wife, your sister; so the Lord hath been pleased to bereave your good father and mother of their daughter, who are helped to carry it like old disciples in the school of Christ.”

“This summer,” as Mr. Hull informs us,|| “the Anabaptists, that were wont to meet at Noddle’s Island, meet at Boston on the Lord’s day. One Mr. Symond Lynde letteth them a house, which formerly was Mr. Rusk’s. Some Quakers are also come and seated in Boston. Some of the magistrates will not permit any punishment to be inflicted on heretics, as such.”

According to a letter from Thomas Mayhew, under September

* Annals of Salem. † Hutchinson’s Coll. p. 450, 1. ‡ Ibid, p. 451-3.

§ Ibid. p. 463-5.

|| MS. Diary.

1674.]

1st, to Gookin, we have the following account. There are three hundred families at least on the Vineyard; two hundred and forty of them are praying families. There are two churches, having fifty members in full communion, and each a pastor and elder. There are seven jurisdictions and ten Indian preachers, and six assemblies every Lord's day.

Nantucket has three hundred Indian families, many of whom have prayers; and one church. With regard to missionary labor in Plymouth, Connecticut and Rhode Island, Gookin's statements are placed among the accounts of these jurisdictions.

Gookin relates that while he held a Court at Pakachoog, he gave a letter having the force of a commission, dated September 17, to Jethro, of Natick, to proceed and preach to fifteen or sixteen families of Indians at Weshakim or Nashaway, near Lancaster. He observes that he shall furnish other ministers of the new praying towns, with similar documents. He mentions another collection of Indians at Wactung, or Uxbridge, who heard the gospel from James and Sasoment, of Hassanamesitt. He states that Indians at Quabaug, or south-east part of Brookfield, "are coming on to receive the gospel." He estimates that there are fourteen towns and two churches of Indians, who have renounced heathenism and embraced Christianity, and number eleven hundred souls.

On November 16, Daniel Gookin dates at Cambridge, his address to the reader of his Collections, relative to the numbers, customs, manners, religion, government and condition of the Indians of New England. He dedicates this work to Charles II. and to the Corporation for Propagating the Gospel in America, the 7th of December. In the address, he says: "I am not ignorant that there are some persons, both in Old and New England, that have low thoughts of this work, and are very prone to speak diminutively thereof; but I entreat it may be considered that this frame of spirit is no new thing; for the servants of God heretofore have complained of it, and with reference to the greatest and best tidings, that ever were declared unto men." He desires the particular attention of the King to the proposal for having a free school for Indian children at Marlborough, and another in Plymouth Colony, as conducive to the advancement of the mission.

He speaks of the different settlements for Indians who have embraced Christianity. In Natick they have twenty-nine families and one hundred forty-five population; numbering fifty communicants, besides others who pray. They have a lecture once a fortnight, in logic and theology, which succeeds well. They have a large house after the English style, the lower part for a school and worship. They assemble forenoon and afternoon, on the Sabbath; forenoon on Lecture and Fast-days, "at the sound of a drum." Each sex sit by themselves. A teacher offers a prayer; after a short pause, he or some other reads a chapter from the Bible;

a psalm is sung; the preacher "catechises and prays," and proceeds to remark on some text of Scripture; prayer is offered, a psalm sung and benediction pronounced. Occasionally, instead of reading the chapter, questions and answers of the Catechism are substituted. The chief of this place is Waban.

Pakemitt, or Punkapoag, has about sixty souls, who moved from Neponset Mill. Their teacher is William Ahawton.

Hassanamesitt has twelve families, whose teacher is Tackuppa-willin, and ruling elder, Piambow. Among them are sixteen men and women in full communion, and about thirty baptized persons. There are several more members of the church, who live in other places.

Okommakamesit, or Marlborough, has about fifty souls. Their ruler, Onomog, the very soul of the place, died two months ago.

Wamesit, or Tewksbury Indians, suffered much in the late war with the Mohawks. Their teacher is Samuel, who had been educated at the charge of the Corporation in England. He was son of their ruler, Numphow. They were visited by Messrs. Eliot, Gookin and others, the 5th of May, according to custom, when many Indians assembled there to catch fish. They put up at the wigwam of Wannalancet, the eldest son of Pasaconaway. Though the former of these two had heard the gospel, he did not turn Christian for fear of some among his chiefs. But the next day after their arrival, he took a decided stand on the side of Christianity. He said, "Now I yield myself to your advice and enter into a new canoe, and do engage to pray to God hereafter."

Nashobah, afterwards Littleton, has about fifty persons. John Thomas is their teacher. The place was deserted when the Mohawks were at war with them, and secretly killed Thomas's father, who was a pious and useful man.

Magunkaquog, subsequently Hopkinton, has fifty-five souls. Eight males and females compose the church, and fifteen are baptized. Their teacher's name is Job.

Besides these, called old praying towns, Gookin proceeds to speak of six others, designated new praying towns, in the Nipmuck country. These Indians began to hear the gospel, 1671. He states that Mr. Eliot and himself visited them, July, 1673, and September of the present year, to confirm them in the Christian religion. At the last date, they took several "godly persons" for their ministers.

Manchage, or Oxford, has sixty souls, and Waabesktamin is appointed their minister.

Chabanakongkoman, or Dudley, has nine families, and Joseph, a member of the Hassanamesitt church, instructs them in the gospel.

Maanexit, or the north-east part of Woodstock, has twenty families who hear Christian doctrine from John Moqua.

1674.]

Quantissett, or the south-east part of Woodstock, has one hundred souls, who attend the ministry of Daniel, from Natick.

Wabquissit, or the south-west corner of Woodstock, has thirty families, who have Sampson for their teacher, brother to Joseph, and from Hassanamesitt.

Pakachoog, partly in Ward and partly in Worcester, has twenty families, and James Spear preaches to them. In each of the settlements, Gookin "gave the rulers, teachers, constables and people their respective charges, to be diligent and faithful for God, zealous against sin, and careful in sanctifying the Sabbath."

Gookin, in the latter part of the current year, thus spoke of Waban, a Christian Indian, who lived at Natick: "In this town they have residing some of their principal rulers, the chief whereof is named Waban, who is now seventy years of age. He is a person of great prudence and piety. I do not know any Indian that excels him." Though his decease has been represented as in 1670—1674, he was among the witnesses in April, and afterwards of 1675, against the conspiracy of Philip. He probably died in the course of the year last mentioned.

Under December 7, Gookin, as to the result of educating the Indians, observes as follows: * "Several of the youth died after they had been sundry years at learning and made good proficiency therein. Others were disheartened and left learning, to live among their countrymen, where some are improved for schoolmasters and teachers, unto which they are advantaged by their education. Some others of them have entered upon other callings; as one is a mariner; another a carpenter; another went for England with a gentleman that lived sometimes at Cambridge in New England, named Drake, which Indian, as I heard, died not many months after his arrival. I remember only two of them all, who lived in the College at Cambridge; the one named Joel, the other Caleb, both natives of Martha's Vineyard. These were hopeful young men. Joel was within a few months of taking his first degree. He took a voyage to see his father, Hiacoomes, and other relatives. He was cast away with others on his return, at Nantucket, where they appeared to have been murdered by Indians for the sake of plunder in the vessel. Thus perished a good scholar and a pious youth. The other, Caleb, took the first degree, 1665, and died of a consumption, 'not long after, at Charlestown, where he was placed by Mr. Thomas Danforth, under the care of a physician.'"

The Indian College of brick, at Cambridge, accommodates twenty scholars, cost three or four hundred pounds, with lodgings and studies. It has not been much improved. It has been considerably improved by English scholars, and for the printing press of the College.†

* Gookin's Coll. Mass. Hist. Coll. 1 s. vol. i. p. 141—226. † Ibid. 172, 3.

October. The preceding month, Mr. Nicholet preached farewell sermons,* as if he were about leaving Salem. Now the town, to prevent his departure, give him a call to continue with them for life. The lecture day following, he accepted their invitation. This affair seems not to have been regularly conducted, because the church and Mr. Higginson did not take the lead.

6. The Middlesex Court arraign Thomas Wilkinson and family, admonish and fine them for neglect of public worship.†

7. The General Court, being informed that the measures taken to heal the difficulties which existed in the College, were ineffectual, require all persons concerned to appear before them. The record states that President Hoar gives up £50 of his salary, "in consideration of the paucity of scholars," and agrees to receive £100. The Court, for a similar reason, dismiss all officers of the College, who have salaries, until further order. They desire the Overseers to use their "utmost endeavors for the removal of all obstructions therein" against the Court's next session, when, if the institution be in no better condition, the President shall be dismissed without any further inquiry.

November 14. Matthew Mayhew and Thomas Doggett represent‡ to Governor Edmund Andros, of New York, that when the news of the capture of that place by the Dutch, reached Martha's Vineyard, about one half of the people opposed the settled government here, and that, some time after, they sent messengers to Boston, with the petition to come under Massachusetts. They informed Mr. Mayhew of this step, and he sent a statement to the Bay, which prevented the purpose of his opponents. These then forcibly set up a government, which they have continued. A similar revolution took place at Nantucket. Andros commanded that both governments be restored as they were before the Dutch came.

26. Thomas Thacher, of Boston, preaches a sermon "on a Fast called by public authority." The subject of it was, "A Fast of God's choosing, plainly opened for the help of those poor in spirit, whose hearts are set to seek the Lord their God, in New England." It was printed 1678, with a preface by Increase Mather.

November 19. Samuel Danforth, minister of Roxbury, dies in his 48th year.§ He was son of Nicholas, who came from Framingham, in Suffolk, England, 1634, and settled at Cambridge. He was born September, 1626; graduated at Harvard College, 1643; accepted as freeman of the Colony, 1648, and ordained colleague with John Eliot, September 24, 1650. When three years old, his mother died, and earnestly dedicated him to "the school of the

* Annals of Salem.

† Nantucket Papers, p. 66-8.

‡ Middlesex Ct. Rec.

§ Mather's Magnalia.

1674.]

prophets." His father dying in 1638, left him, as a hopeful son of many cares and prayers, to the paternal oversight of his devout pastor, Mr. Shepard. Such carefulness bore much and precious fruit. When reciting to his tutor out of the "heathen poets," who ascribed works to false gods, which were done by none but "the Holy One of Israel," he added such a truth by way of remark. The tutor rebuked him as though it were impertinent. He replied: "Sir, I can't in conscience" recite such passages, "without washing my mouth upon it." At another time he repeated a similar comment, and his teacher a like reproof, when the latter was immediately seized with a convulsive fit. On recovering, he acknowledged his illness as a punishment for his harshness to his pupil, and approved his conscientiousness. After graduation, he became tutor, and was the second fellow of his Alma Mater. His diary shows that though he was young in years, he was old in Christian knowledge and life. He was vigilant to avoid not only sins of commission, but also those of omission.

Having entered on the duties of the ministry, he married, the year after this, a daughter of John Wilson. She proved to him a help-meet indeed.

While careful to increase his large stock of worldly wisdom, he was still more so to abound in heavenly understanding and in the usefulness of his office. His sermons were "elaborate and substantial." He used forty or fifty texts of the Bible in each discourse, and kept strictly to its main subject. A poem of Mr. Weld upon him has the words,

"Mighty in Scripture, he lived each truth."

His prominent object in preaching was to win souls to the Redeemer. He seldom addressed them but that his earnest desire for their eternal good brought tears to his eyes. Thus was he instrumental in awaking the sympathy of the hardened, and in sending those away from the sanctuary with a spirit of supplication, who came to criticise and be amused. Besides his Sabbath labors, he preached a monthly lecture, and on many occasions at the houses of Christians. He was exemplary in visiting and watching his flock. When meeting any of them who had been restored to health, he would say, "Well, you have been in God's school; but what have you learnt? And what good have you got?" Remarkably beneficial were these applications of true friendship. One of various means which he employed to hinder the inroads of immorality into his parish, was to see that the public house standing in sight of his study, was kept orderly according to the law. In his public elocution he was eloquent and impressive. His intellectual powers were of high order. He felt himself bought with a price, and bound to serve his Redeemer to the utmost of his ability, natural and acquired.

Called to part with three children suddenly, by a violent disease termed "bladders in the windpipe," in December, 1659, the eldest of whom, being five years and a half old, was remarkable for her piety, he bowed to the Supreme will with holy submission. In addressing the concourse who assembled to bury the dead, he remarked: "Blessed be God, that doth not despise the affliction of the afflicted, nor hide his face from him."

About to finish his probation, he said to his wife with regard to her and their children, having had twelve in all, if he should be taken from providing for their necessities,—“At times I have been anxious on this subject, but now I feel assured that divine Providence will fulfill to you the covenant promises, and that your wants will be well supplied.” This was strikingly accomplished.

The next day after this expression of his trust in God, he was taken sick of a putrid fever, and at the end of six days, breathed his last. His colleague, the apostle Eliot, used to say, “My brother Danforth made the most glorious end I ever saw.” Such is the experience of a philosophy springing from revealed doctrines, nurtured in the heart and honored by the ministry of Christ’s devoted servants.

Of Mr. Danforth’s productions, a few are still extant. As the fruits of his taste for astronomical science, he published several Almanacs, and a Treatise on the Comet, which appeared in 1664, and greatly alarmed the world. He, like the rest of scientific men in his day, believed that this body appeared to forewarn the earth of impending judgments. Besides these, there were two discourses. One, “The Cry of Sodom inquired into, or a Testimony against the Sins of Uncleanness.” Another, delivered before the Legislature at their Election, 1671, entitled, “A Recognition of New England’s Errand into the Wilderness.”

Among his children who survived him, were John and Samuel, who followed his instructions and became “worthy ministers of the gospel.”* Here we close our interview with him, and feel that its influence tends to quicken our reposing energies, and engage them more faithfully in preparation for the summons of judgment.

December 6. John Richardson unites† with the Newbury church. He was ordained the pastor thereof, October 20th, in the following year. His salary was £100; one half payable in merchantable barley, and the other in pork, wheat, butter, or Indian corn.

8. The party in Salem,‡ who wished to retain the ministry of Mr. Nicholet there, assemble at Lynn for the purpose of having a church formed. On the 30th ultimo, Mr. Higginson informed his church, that they had applied for permission so to do, from the Deputy Governor and the Major General, as magistrates, but that

* Magnalia. † Coffin’s Newbury, p. 114-16. ‡ First Ch. Rec. of Salem.

1674.]

it was not granted them. He and two of his brethren appear at Lynn, with other delegates from Ipswich, Rowley and Beverly, to prevent such an organization. Messengers from other churches thought, on examination of the persons proposed for becoming a church, that they had better delay. The First Boston church records say: "Upon the request of certain friends of Salem, intending to gather a church at Lynn, 8th instant, their elders and deacons were chosen to go messengers and give the right hand of fellowship. But upon the appointed day, it did not succeed."

On this occurrence, Hull made the subsequent note.* "Some endeavors to gather a church of some non-members of Salem, to whom Mr. Nicholet should officiate, who met at Lynn, and proceeded so far that they had seven messengers from Boston Old church; but four of them, having declared God's gracious workings on them, showed so much ignorance that their proceedings were hindered."

On the 22d, Sewall remarks in his diary: "Lieut. Way, Mr. Weaver and Thomas Norman came to our house. The lieutenant related several things about Mr. Nicholet's church gathering at Lynn."

23. Nehemiah Hobart is ordained† at Cambridge village, as successor to John Eliot, Jr. He began to preach there in 1672. He was son of Rev. Peter Hobart, of Hingham, and graduated at Harvard College, 1667.

28. The records of the church‡ under John Oxenbridge, pastor, say of him: "As he was preaching his lecture, (on the 23d,) he was found to break off by reason of sickness, was carried home in a sedan, died the 28th, and was interred 31st with great solemnity." This devoted servant of Christ was born in Daventry, Northamptonshire, Eng., January 30, 1609. He was among the most able, learned, and useful Puritans of his age. His daughter, Theodora, married the Rev. Peter Thacher. His published works were: "A Double Watch Word, 1661; A Proposition for Propagating the Gospel by Christian Colonies in the Continent of Guiana; Election Sermon, 1671; Seasonable Seeking of God." He had trials to purify him for a perfect world, and mercies to encourage him in seeking for its incorruptible joys. As he lived, so he died, submissive to the will of the Most High.

31. As an indication that the office§ of ruling elder was not universally acceptable, Wenham church vote that they will dispense with such an officer.

This year, Benjamin, son of the Rev. Adam Blackman, of Stratford, Ct., is settled at Malden.|| He continued to preach

* Hull's MS. Diary. Transactions of Am. Antiq. Soc. vol. iii. p. 239.

† Mass. Hist. Soc. Coll. 1 s. vol. v. p. 267.

‡ First Ch. Rec. of Boston.

§ Wenham Ch. Rec.

|| Farmer's Genealogy. Greenleaf's Ecc. Sketches, p. 44.

here four years, and then went to perform similar labor at Scarborough, Me.

Sundry Sermons on Conversion, from the ready and eloquent pen of Increase Mather, are published.

PLYMOUTH.

1671. March 8. William Hedge,* John Gray and Edward Sturgis, for sailing from Yarmouth to Boston, on the Lord's day, are each fined 30/. John and Samuel Matthews and Samuel Gray are summoned to answer for a like profanation.

April 12. Philip, sachem of Pokanoket, renews a treaty with Plymouth† at Taunton. He confesses in this document, his treachery to the English, and promises to deal with them, in future, fairly and amicably. All the endeavors to prevail on him to join the Christian Indians, had failed. What he said to Eliot, who once preached before him, after taking hold of a button on the missionary's coat, "I do not value the gospel any more than that," was too true an indication of his prejudice against the gospel. But he neglected to send in the guns of his men as he promised, and gave other proofs that his heart was bent on mischief.

May 5. Lovelace, Governor of New York, writes‡ to Prince, of Plymouth: "As to your Indian affairs, I am heartily glad that your courage and wisdom has met with that success as to compel him (Philip) to a complacency to your desires. I verily believe, and by what relations I have met with, even of our own Indians, the defection seemed almost universal. The confession of the Sagamore seems clear enough, which, if his compunction be so too, it then may prove in the politic body as sometimes it happens in the natural, that a bone once broken and well set, strengthens the limb, which good effect I heartily wish it may have."

June 5. Nathaniel Woodward,§ for speaking abusively of Rev. Mr. Shove, of Taunton, is sentenced to sit in the stocks during the Court's pleasure; John Gray, of Yarmouth, is fined 5/. for swearing; Nathaniel Soule, for several lies, £5; James Cole, for drunkenness, 10/.; Walter Winsor, for selling liquors to Indians, 30/.; William Walker, for stealing cloth from Thomas Clark, of Boston, is to pay said Clark double, and for a falsehood, 10/.

The Court decide that the arms of Philip, in their hands, are forfeited. To meet the perils which seem to arise from the conduct of him and his subjects, the Council of War are called up and additions made to them. In the oath administered to the latter, is the passage, "You shall faithfully, with respect to the glory of

* Plym. Col. Rec.

† Easton's Philip's War, p. 38.

‡ Baylies, vol. ii. p. 3, 20, 1.

§ Plym. Col. Rec.

1671.]

God and the welfare of this jurisdiction, afford your best advice in all matters of importance."

6. "The Laws of the Colony, lately revised, with some emendations and additions," are published by authority of the General Court. They were printed the next year at Cambridge, by Samuel Green. The Court, in their introduction, say: "Although we do hold and do affirm, that both courts of justice and magistrates, who are the ministers of the law, are essentially civil, notwithstanding we conceive that, as the magistrate hath his power from God, so undoubtedly he is to improve it for the honor of God, and that in the upholding of his worship and service, and against the contrary with due respect also to be had unto those that are really conscientious, though differing and dissenting in smaller matters; but if any really or in pretence of conscience, shall profess that which eminently tendeth to the inundation of civil state, and violating of natural bonds, or the overthrow of the churches of God or of his worship, that herein prudence is to be improved in a special manner, in the enacting and execution of such laws as may be useful for the upholding of the same against such destructive errors."

The Court, after stating that the great end of their coming to this country was, that they "might with the liberty of a good conscience, enjoy the pure scriptural worship of God, without the mixture of human inventions and impositions; and that their children after them might walk in the holy ways of the Lord;" and "whereas, by the grace of God, we have now had near about fifty years' experience of the good consistency of these churches, with civil peace and order, and also with spiritual edification, together with the welfare and tranquillity of this Government;"—"It is therefore, for the honor of God and the propagation of religion," ordered, that the churches shall be protected by the Government and encouraged "in their peaceable and orderly walking, and the faithful, able, orthodox teaching ministry thereof duly encouraged and provided for, together with such other orthodox, able dispensers of the gospel, which shall or may be placed in any township of this Government, where there is or may be defect of church order."

"Although no creature be Lord, or have power over the faith and consciences of men, yet it being a duty to restrain or provide against such as bring in dangerous errors or heresies tending to corrupt and destroy the souls of men," whoever is convicted of this offense and continues obstinate therein, shall be fined, banished or otherwise severely punished as the Court of magistrates shall judge meet.

They who vilify the Scriptures and the holy penmen of them, shall be fined or receive corporal punishment, as the Court shall see fit, so that it do not extend to "life or limb;" those who

reproach the word preached, or the ministers thereof, or the ways of churches or ordinances thereof, shall pay for the first offense 20/., or be put in the stocks not above four hours; for the second, 40/., or whipped. No one is to be deprived of lawful liberty "to propose his scruple for further satisfaction."

"No public meeting shall be set up but such as the Court approve of, wherein they shall have special care that they allow such only as are orthodox in the fundamentals of religion."

The property of non-residents, as well as others, in every village or township, shall be taxed for the support of the ministry, unless they do it by contribution; and if the rateable inhabitants of any such place neglect to build a meeting-house and obtain a preacher, the General Court shall tax them to a just amount, which shall be applied for these two purposes.

This year the people of Rehoboth vote,* that, "as Mr. Newman's salary had not been paid, there shall be a trial made by contribution every Sabbath day."

Among their capital laws punishable with death, are idolatry, blasphemy, witchcraft, cursing or smiting parents, rebellion of a son and presumptuous violation of the Sabbath. The last has added to it, or "grievously punished at the judgment of the Court." Profanity, drunkenness, and neglect of public worship, still treated as violations of law.

Playing "at cards, dice, cross and pile, or any such unlawful game, wherein there is lottery," shall be on penalty of 10/., to the player, and 20/., to the master of the house, wherein the gaming is. Whatever person wears a "vizard, or disguise by strange apparel," for evil purposes, shall be fined 50/., or publicly whipped or bound to good behavior, as the Court may determine.

All persons who smoke tobacco in the streets, or where there is danger of setting fire, shall pay 2/., for each offense. If they cause damage by such a practice, they shall pay for it or "serve it out." Smoking on the Sabbath, within two miles of the meeting-house, to and from worship, shall be fined in the sum last named.

None shall take up his residence in any town or settlement without leave from the Governor, and two of the Assistants at least.

Men, twenty-one years of age at least, having the testimony of their neighbors that they are of orderly deportment, "orthodox in the fundamentals of religion," and have not less than £20 rateable estate in the Colony, may be admitted freemen. They are to stand propounded one year, except those "generally known and approved," or whom the Court wish to employ immediately in public service. They shall be received only at the Election Courts and in open Court. If any freeman be discovered as being "notoriously vicious, as liars, drunkards, swearers, apostates from the

* Baylies, vol. ii. p. 215.

1671.]

fundamentals of religion or the like, or manifestly appear to be disaffected to this Government," he shall, on due conviction, be disfranchised by the Court, if they think fit, "from the privilege of a freeman."

No Indian to powow or "perform outward worship to the devil or other false god, under penalty of five pounds, or severe corporal punishment." All who abet such a person shall be alike punished. No Indian shall resort to houses of the English on the Sabbath, especially when they are at public worship, except on extraordinary occasions; nor "profane the Lord's day by hunting, fishing, fowling, traveling with burthens or doing any servile work thereon,"—"under penalty of 10/., or corporal punishment by whipping."

The Legislature require that the names of all persons who live idly, and of those single persons who will not be under family government, be handed to them by the selectmen of the several towns, so that such delinquents may be proceeded with as the case demands.

The selectmen of every town "shall have a vigilant eye over their brethren and neighbors," that they "by themselves or others teach their children and servants so much learning as through the blessing of God they may attain, at least, to be able to read the Scriptures and other good profitable books, printed in the English tongue, and the knowledge of the Capital Laws, and in some competent measure to understand the main grounds and principles of the Christian Religion, necessary to salvation, by causing them to learn some short orthodox catechism, without book, or otherwise instructing them as they may be able to give a due answer to such plain questions, as may by them or others be propounded to them concerning the same."

If parents do not have their children and servants properly educated, the selectmen are authorized to bind out such children and servants where they may be fitly instructed. Each county town is to have a Latin school for preparing youth to enter college, entitled, for their encouragement, to one third part of the money annually accruing from the Cape Fishery.

June 7. Fifteen or more Indian tribes of the Colony, engage to act as friends towards them. Those of Paomet say in their contract, that they were once in bondage to Satan, but through the word of God, they had been brought to trust in him. So it was substantially with the others. The language of these is, "We hope some of us have received the faith of the gospel of Christ."

Representatives of Indians from six places engage friendship to the Colony,—as the Paomets' paper does.

On July 5, delegates from eight more Indian places, sign a similar contract. They say: "We poor Indians were a people delighting in war and the confusion of one another, but now, having found the benefit of peace by your protection, we hope some of us

have received the faith of the gospel." On the 24th, Awasunks, the Squaw sachem of Saconett, and widow of Alexander, brother to Philip, makes a treaty with Plymouth, that her people shall give up their arms and yield submission to this Colony in ten days. On August 31, her subjects engage that they will be faithful to the same Commonwealth. On September 4th, the Dartmouth Indians promise that their conduct towards the Colony shall be in all good faith.

September 4. A letter of John Eliot* to the Commissioners gives the following: He desires that they would take measures, that the Christian Indians near Plymouth "may have land of their own, competent to live upon."

13. The Council of War convene at Plymouth, but Philip fails to appear as they expected. He had gone to Massachusetts and represented his case to the chief men there. These wrote to the Governor here, desiring him to persuade the said Council to allow Philip's terms of reconciliation, supposing that neither he nor his predecessor owed the Colony, by their treaties with it, any thing more than neighborly and friendly correspondence, and therefore, had not given it so much offense as is charged upon him. Those gentlemen, also, offered to come hither and help settle the controversy. Considering these things, the Council send an invitation to Boston for these persons and the Commissioners of the Union, then in session there, to come and advise with them.

Accordingly, on the 24th, John Winthrop, Governor of Connecticut, John Leverett, Thomas Danforth, William Davis, and others, arrive at Plymouth. Thus come, they gave a deliberate hearing to the complaints of both parties, there being "competent interpreters, both English and Indians." "It was proved by sufficient testimony to the conviction of Philip, and satisfaction of all that audience, both the said gentlemen and others, that he had broken his covenant."

The visitors on this occasion tell Philip, that his story to the Government of the Bay was greatly different from what he had been able to prove; "that he by his insolence had in probability occasioned more mischief from Indians among them (Plymouth Colony) than had fallen out in many years before." They advise him to humble himself unto the magistrates and amend his ways, if he expected peace, and that if he went on in his refractory way, he must expect to smart for it." At length, on the 29th, Philip signs a treaty of peace with Plymouth. Among his engagements are, that he will not make war with any, nor dispose of his lands without the consent of the Plymouth authorities, and that he will pay them £100, in three years' time, for the damage he has caused them.

1672-3.]

Mr. Bradstreet, of New London, remarks in his Journal: "The tumult that king Philip, with his Indians in Plymouth, made, was quieted by several gentlemen of the Colony, and the Bay Colony, who, meeting, brought Philip to sign several articles, wherein a peace and agreement was concluded."

1672. March 5. Josias Palmer,* of Scituate, is fined 10/. for asserting that Mr. Witherell's church was a church of the devil.

John Loe, of Marshfield, is sentenced 40/. or to be whipped, for servile labor or contemptible words on the Sabbath.

June 5. A Fast appointed "in concurrence with Massachusetts," to be observed on the 13th, "with special respect unto the sad, and in many respects deplorable estate of our native country," taking in several concerns of New England.

July 1. Dartmouth, having neglected for two years to raise £15 for preaching the gospel among them, are now ordered to comply.

John Williams, of Scituate, is fined 40/. for working on the Sabbath.

The Legislature say† that they are informed of the exertions made by Massachusetts for Harvard College, "whence have, through the blessing of God, issued many worthy and useful persons for public service in church and commonwealth;" and that beneficent individuals in England are ready to assist in such a work, if the Colonies here help in the same direction. They therefore "earnestly commend it to the ministers and elders in each town," and others whom they think fit to take with them, to wait on those who are able, and stir them up to assist in "this worthy work, be it money or other good pay."

September 6. The Colonies of Connecticut, Massachusetts and Plymouth, renew Articles of Confederation in the capital of the last member. Thomas Prince and Josiah Winslow are the Commissioners for this Commonwealth. They repeat the idea that the great end for which New England was settled, was to "advance the kingdom of our Lord Jesus Christ, and to enjoy the liberties of the gospel in purity and peace."

Samuel Treat, son of Robert Treat, who lived in New Haven and was distinguished in civil life, is ordained at Eastham. He graduated at Harvard College, 1669. His salary was £50, sufficient wood brought to his door, several lots of land, on one of which, containing twenty-three acres, at the head of the cove, he had a house built for his own use, by the town.

1673. February 23. Among the prominent promoters and supporters‡ of our Puritan institutions, was John Howland, who now departed this life and was buried the 25th, in his 81st year. His wife was Elizabeth, daughter of Governor Carver. They had four sons and six daughters. "He was a godly man and an ancient

* Plym. Col. Rec.

† Plym. Col. Laws.

‡ Plym. Col. Rec.

professor in the ways of Christ. He was one of the first comers into this land, and proved a useful instrument of good in his place, and was the last man that was left of those that came over in the ship called the *May Flower*, that lived in Plymouth."

March 29. Thomas Prince died in his 73d year, and was buried 8th of April. He came from Lechlade, in Gloucester, England, to America, 1621, in the ship *Fortune*, and settled at Plymouth. He was elected assistant, 1635, and twenty years afterwards; moved to Eastham, 1644; chosen Governor, 1634-38, 1657-72; in the whole, eighteen years. His first wife, Patience, daughter of Elder Brewster, married 1624; died, 1634. He married Mary, daughter of William Collier, 1635. He left seven daughters. He had a son, Thomas, who went to England, died young, leaving a wife and daughter. "He was a worthy gentleman, very pious and very able for his office, and faithful in the discharge thereof; studious of peace; a well-willer to all that feared God, and a terror to the wicked. His death was much lamented, and his body honorably buried."

June 3. The General Court convene.* They order that the profits arising from the fishery at the Cape, be appropriated to the charges, being £33, of the free school in the town of Plymouth.

July 4. They enact that pawns given by Indians for silver or drink, shall be forfeited; that no keeper of an ordinary shall sell any beer to them, on penalty of 5/. for every quart thus sold. Capt. James Cudworth is restored to the privileges of a freeman. Mr. Isaac Robinson is alike favored.

October 2. Elizabeth, widow of Richard Warren, one of the first settlers of Plymouth, died in her 91st year. She "lived a godly life," and "came to her grave as a shock of corn fully ripe."

This month, Humphrey Johnson, "for coming into this government and erecting a house in the township of Scituate, some time in this summer, and dwelling in said house contrary to law," is fined 10/.

December 19. The people of Swanzy † pass the following vote: "That a school be forthwith set up in this town for the teaching of grammar, rhetoric and arithmetic, and tongues of the Latin, Greek and Hebrew; also to read English and write; and that the salary of £40 per annum, in current country pay, which passeth from man to man, be duly paid to the schoolmaster thereof, and that Mr. John Myles, the present pastor of the church here assembling, be

* Plym. Col. Laws.

† Baylies' Hist. of Plym. Col. vol. ii. p. 248.

NOTE.—Josiah Winslow, Sen., died April 12, 1673. Mrs. Margaret Winslow, was executrix of his will. He had given a house and land in Marshfield to his son and heir, Jonathan Winslow, "in frank marriage unto Ruth, daughter of Mr. Wm. Serjeant," but in his will had devised the same house and land to his son "intaille." The General Court (1675, March 1) decide that the latter entailment cannot make the former free gift void, but must be void itself, while the rest of the will holds good.

1674.]

schoolmaster; otherwise to have power to dispose the same to an able schoolmaster during the said pastor's life." When he died, his successors in the pastoral office were to assume similar relations to the school. But he and they were to be paid as such instructors, only so long as they were "contented to take their ministerial maintenance by weekly contribution."

1674. June 3. The Rev. Samuel Arnold, of Marshfield, preaches the Election Sermon. It was printed at Cambridge, and has the imprimatur of John Oxenbridge and Increase Mather, licensers of the press. His text was Acts xiii. 36,—and his subject, "David serving his generation." He calls on the electors to "choose such as have sincere hearts; that have true piety; as have skillfulness and dexterity of hands, as may be able to work the vessel in storms as well as in calms." To legislators he says: "Make laws consonant to the Scriptures, such laws as you need neither be afraid nor ashamed to execute." To the clergy he observes: "Affect piety more than popularity; study harmony rather than singularity; take heed of soldering in the least degree with persons or doctrine contrary to the simplicity and purity of the gospel; let us, by all means, cry down the evils and sins of our generation;" there are those, whose "devotion lies in contradicting and blaspheming the truths and servants of God: let us pray for those that prate against us, speak truth to them that belie us." To such as may hold the reins of government the year to come, he remarks: "God hath delivered the custody of both Tables into your hands; let the churches of the Lord Jesus find protection and patronage under the shadow of your wings; for the sake of the church the world stands; let the Sabbaths of God be of high and honorable account in your eyes; let no plantation in this jurisdiction, (if it may with your care be possibly prevented,) be without a teaching ministry; tolerate not things that are intolerable; when persons err in fundamentals, deny Christ Jesus, the word of God, eternal election, etc., such heresies and heretics had need be suppressed."

4. The General Court order* that the freemen of each town have their names on its records; and that no person be proposed for a freeman, unless he be approved by a major part of the freemen where he lives. They enact that no keeper of an ordinary shall give or sell any kind of drink to the people of the place where he resides, on the Sabbath; and every person of such occupation, shall clear his premises of all "town dwellers and strangers," who are there for purposes of drinking, except lodgers in the house, "by the shutting in of the daylight, upon the forfeiture of five shillings." They decide that the profits of the Cape Cod fishery shall be continued to the school, "if a competent number of scholars shall appear to be devoted hereunto, not less than eight or ten."

* Plym. Col. Laws.

July 7. William Maycomber,* for "breach of the Sabbath in a high degree," is sentenced to pay 40/., or be publicly whipped. An Indian, called Iloken, a notorious thief, is "to be apprehended and sold or sent to Barbadoes to satisfy his debts, and free the Colony from so ill a member." In October, George Dausen, for Sabbath breaking, is fined £2.

August 4. Thomas Willet, who had been an efficient promoter of the Colony's civil and religious interests, dies at Barrington,† R. I., aged sixty-four. He came from Leyden as early as 1630; was an Assistant from 1651 to 1664, and the first mayor of New York, after it came into the hands of the English. He married Mary, daughter of John Brown, and had a large family. He left a widow, Joannah, who was of Milford, Ct., in October, the year of his decease. The exigencies of the time and country in which he lived, required the temperament and experience that he possessed, and he dutifully met them.

September 1. Richard Bourne writes to Daniel Gookin‡ concerning the Indians who had come under gospel instruction, within the Colony of Plymouth. He leaves out of his computation, children, and takes into it only those whom he denominates "men and women, young men and maidens." The locations are ancient. At Meeshawn, or near the head of Cape Cod and Billingsgate, the praying Indians are 72; at Potanumaquut, or Nausett, or Eastham, 44; at Manamoyik, or Chatham, 71; at Sawkattukett, west section of Harwich, Nobsquassit, or north-east section of Yarmouth, Metakees, principally in the west part of the same town, and Weequakut, or south-west part of the east precinct in Barnstable, 122; at Satuit, Pawpoesit, Coatuit, Mashpee and Wakoquet, the first, second and fifth of these places being within and near Mashpee, and Coatuit in the south-west part of Barnstable, 95; at Codtanmut, probably a neck in Mashpee, Ashimuit, on the west line of this place, and Weesquobs in Sandwich, 22; at Pispogutt, Wawayontat or Wareham, Sokones or part of Falmouth, 36; Cotuhtikut and Assoowamsoo, both in Middleborough, 35. Mr. Bourne wrote, that within these bounds there was one church of 27 members in full communion, and 90 baptized persons, and that it was formed four years past. He stated that he had four Indians as assistant preachers, and that he had employed four others, but who had not received any compensation yet from the missionary corporation. He mentions several locations which wanted the gospel, and that books were needed to carry on the work.

14. John Cotton addresses Mr. Gookin relative to Indians under his care. He remarks that he had preached to some of them at

* Plym. Col. and Treasury Rec.

† Potter's Narragansett, p. 313.

‡ Gookin's Coll. Mass. Hist. Soc. Coll. 1 s. vol. i. p. 196-9.

1671.]

Kitteaumut, in Sandwich, among whom were forty male and female "praying Indians," and who, on Sabbaths, go to hear one of Mr. Bourne's assistants. He relates that he had preached sometimes at different places on Cape Cod; that Indian primers and Bibles are much needed; that when the Courts sit at Plymouth, many Indians from various portions of the Colony assemble there, and that he then gave them Christian instruction, which had led some to embrace the gospel. He says that several principal Indians, at a distance from him, desire further religious privileges.

MAINE.

1671. May. Situated as Maine was with relation to the claims of the French, the General Court of Massachusetts order another survey, to ascertain more fully the extent of its boundaries. They appointed Thomas Clark for this purpose. He employed George Mountjoy, of Falmouth, a skillful surveyor, as his assistant. This person, by his report of the next year, found that the northernmost source of the Merrimack river, with three miles added to it, as the Charter proposed, was $43^{\circ} 49' 12''$, and that a line from this point due east, crossed the Sagadahock, near the present Bath, and reached White Head Island, in Penobscot Bay. Through such enlargement of their jurisdiction, the Massachusetts rulers hoped to keep at a greater distance influences of a church and state, which they believed less beneficial than their own.

31. John Oxenbridge, of Boston, in his Election Sermon there, refers to the watchfulness of the French, as Roman Catholics, and neighbors to the English of Maine, as a reason why the freemen of Massachusetts should seek for union in sentiment and action.

July. Thomas Withers is complained of for "endeavoring to prevent the providence of God and privileges of others, by putting several votes for himself to be an officer at a town meeting. He is fined £5, and fees 5/., or "stand in the pillory at York the next training day, two hours." He was also disfranchised.

Mrs. Sarah Morgan, for striking her husband, is "to stand with a gag in her mouth half an hour, at Kittery, at a public town meeting, and the cause of her offense written and put on her forehead, or pay 50/ to the Treasurer."

Withers, aforementioned, charged with contributing "money to lead on others to do the like, and taking of his own money, if not more, out again," gives a bond of £10 to answer.

Thomas Cloyes is fined 5/ for playing cards.*

* York Records. Willis's Portland, vol. i. p. 280, 3.

1672. December 3. Shubal Dummer,* son of Richard Dummer, of Newbury, Massachusetts, born February 17, 1636, graduated at Harvard College, 1656; began to preach at York, as early as 1662; is ordained there over those who had, for a considerable period, already heard the dispensations of the gospel from his lips.

About this year the Seahkook Indians, or the Loups, as the French called them, left and settled above Albany,† on a branch of the Hudson river, which runs towards Canada. Whether influenced by Roman Catholic priests to take this course, though it is probable, there is no positive proof. They were afterwards suspected by New Englanders, as accessory to aggressions made by Indians who were their neighbors.

The war declared by England against the Dutch, was probably one means‡ of so engrossing the public attention in that kingdom, as that the Duke of York did not take particular notice of the new survey ordered by Massachusetts, and trenching on territory of his Patent. It is true that his acquiescence in the re-occupation of his domain below Penobscot, by the French, seemed to indicate that he was not very deeply interested in his title to what still remained under his control. But such yielding to that people was suspected, in part, to come from his sympathy for their papacy more than from lack of concern for the soil he consented they should again control.

1673. February 16. Governor Lovelace writes§ from New York to Pemaquid and dependencies, known as Cornwall County, extending from St. Croix river to Kennebec river. "I shall desire that you would transmit to me a model of such a government as shall be most conducive to the happiness of that Colony, both to its safety, traffic and increase of inhabitants, promising, upon the reception of that scheme, not only to invest you with ample power to exercise your authority, both to ecclesiastick as civil affairs, but will be ready on all occasions to be assisting to you in the preservation of all your rights and interests against any sinister obstructions."

October 15. The Bay authorities,|| sanctioning Mountjoy's survey, and knowing that Governor Lovelace, on the surrender of New York to the Dutch, had left Sagadahock, which belonged to his jurisdiction, unprotected, appoint Commissioners to form a new County below such territory, "that so the ways of godliness may be encouraged and vice arrested."

1674. March 20. As bearing on the Puritan interests of Massachusetts, William, Earl of Sterling, Ferdinando Gorges and Robert Mason, proprietors of three Provinces in New England, propose to surrender their claims, so that His Majesty may send

* Coffin's Newbury, p. 353. Greenleaf's Ecc. Sketches, p. 9, 10.

† Holmes' Annals, vol. i. p. 368. Colden's Five Nations, p. 95.

‡ Williamson's Maine, vol. i. p. 442. § Me. Hist. Soc. Coll. vol. v. p. 7, 8.

|| Mass. Gen. Ct. Rec.

1674.]

over a General Governor, "which will be a means not only of hindering the further encroachments of the corporation of Boston, but in a short time reduce them also under your Majesty's immediate government, and very much to the profit of your Majesty and people there."*

May 27. Thomas Clark, Humphrey Davy, Richard Callicot and Thomas Gardner, are appointed by the Legislature† of Massachusetts, according to order of the preceding October session, to keep a Court at Kennebeck, Capenawaggen, or some other suitable place. These Commissioners reported, under date of October 7, to the body who appointed them, concerning their transactions. They formed the population and territory, as Williamson says, "from Sagadahock to Georges' River inclusive," into a County, styled Devonshire. They proceeded to take the oath of allegiance from eighty-four persons, and appoint the needed officers. Such an arrangement brought the jurisdiction of Massachusetts upon the line of that included in the Patent of the Duke of York, a juxtaposition not desirable in view of his anti-Puritan prejudices, and high price for his territory. Beyond his boundary, eastward, were the French, of the Romish faith, who had a fort on the east side of Penobscot Bay.

July 28. A letter from the Rev. John Collins,‡ in London, is addressed to Governor Leverett. He mentions a proposition by the proprietors of New Hampshire and Maine, to alienate their claims to the Duke of Monmouth, so that he might send over a Governor, and thus obtain a revenue of £5,000 a year. Collins remarks that he had used means to cool down so mad a project, and that he thought it was laid aside.

August 24. Governor Leverett addressed Robert Thompson, of London.§ He mentions the complaints about the Gorges claim; states that should the claimants have it restored to them, they would suffer loss; that Massachusetts has done right in extending jurisdiction over it, but still, to quiet the continual trouble on account of it, they will give £500 if a good conveyance of the premises be made to them. He empowers Thompson to act accordingly.

October 7. At their session of this date,|| the Bay Legislature confirm the doings of their Commissioners in "settling the eastern parts at Kennebeck and the places adjacent, under government, and that on the desire of the inhabitants of these places," the Court call them "the County of Devonshire."

31. As Edmund Andros,¶ by commission from the Duke of York, had entered on his duties as Governor of the latter's territory in New York and Maine, this event was an important one, as to

* Mass. Archives, Vol. Col. Me.

† Hutchinson's Coll. p. 451, 2.

|| Mass. Gen. Ct. Rec.

‡ Mass. Gen. Ct. Rec.

§ Ibid.

¶ Smith's New York.

what might be its adverse effects on the people under the jurisdiction of the Bay.

NEW HAMPSHIRE.

1671. June 25. Soon after this, the ordination of Joshua Moody takes place* at Portsmouth. Of this event, he left a particular account. Although he had regularly preached at Portsmouth since 1658, and proposal to ordain him had been made, yet this service had not been performed before the current year. He remarks on this subject: "After many serious endeavors, which had been used by the then minister of the place in public, and by several of the inhabitants in private, the Lord, without whose presence and blessing man builds but in vain, was pleased at length to lay the foundation of an house for himself in this place." He designates that they had several meetings to discuss the subject of church fellowship; appointed a day of fasting and prayer to seek divine guidance; read to each other a reason for the hope they cherished; and they gave a unanimous consent to many discourses delivered by Mr. Moody, in the latter part of 1670 and the beginning of 1671, from Ezekiel xliii. 10—12, "about the laws, ordinances and forms" of the church. They then appointed a committee "to acquaint the civil authority" with their purpose, as the law required. They invited the churches of Cambridge, Ipswich, Rowley and Hampton to attend. The first of them sent the dismissal of Mr. Moody, he having been one of its members. "Governor Leverett came, and several magistrates with him. For no church could settle a minister without the approbation of the Governor and rulers. He that was appointed pastor, preached in the morning out of Ezekiel xlviii. ult. After sermon some intermission was made, and on their meeting again, the pastor, with all those who were to be beginners of the new church, made their relations, and those who were members of other churches had their dismissals, and all made their relations, whether members or non-members, and they were approved by the messengers of the churches, and embodied into a church by an explicit covenant. Then the pastor was ordained, after the unanimous vote of the church for the choice of him, and liberty given to all the congregation to object, if they had ought to say. He was ordained by several of the elders at the desire of the church; Mr. Cabot giving him his charge, and Mr. Wheelwright the right hand of fellowship. Then the pastor ordained Samuel Haynes, deacon, with imposition of hand and prayer. A psalm was sung, and the con-

* Adams's Portsmouth, p. 51-5.

1672.]

gregation dismissed by the pastor with a prayer and blessing." There were nine persons who so entered into covenant and formed the church—Joshua Moody, John Cutt, Richard Cutt, Elias Stileman, Richard Martyn, Samuel Haynes, James Pendleton, John Fletcher and John Tucker.*

Mr. Stileman was recommended on June 25, 1671, by the First church of Salem, as one of its members, to help constitute the Portsmouth church, which, with what Mr. Moody says, indicates that his ordination must have been after this date.

Edward Hilton,† who was among the first settlers and principal promoters of New Hampshire, dies this year at an advanced age. Hubbard says that he came from London and settled at Dover with his brother, William Hilton, and others, about 1623. Here he resided fifteen or twenty years, and then at Exeter. He was highly respectable, held a friendly correspondence with Governor Winthrop, and coincided with the authorities of Massachusetts when they extended their needed jurisdiction over this Colony.

July 5. John Reyner succeeds‡ his father in the ministry at Dover. He graduated at Harvard College, 1663, and married Judith, daughter of Edmund Quincy. Farmer says that he died at Braintree, § 21st December, 1676, aged 34; and Hull, that the occasion of his decease was a cold and fever, which he took while in the field as a chaplain to soldiers serving against the forces of Philip. Ready to "endure hardness" for his parishioners and his country in their deepest necessities, he fell before the progress of disease, and rested from his earthly labors through a good hope in the high Captain of his salvation.

1672. March 12. The people of Portsmouth vote|| that whoever smokes in the meeting-house, at any public meeting, shall be fined five shillings.

October 8. As the General Court of Massachusetts, at their last session, ¶ allowed Portsmouth to have a village above Dover bounds, they confirm the grant, the conditions being that three hundred acres shall be reserved for the Colony, and twenty families be there in five years, who shall pay rates, as other towns, and maintain "an able and approved ministry" among them.

They allow the return of one thousand acres of land, "on a branch of Piscataqua River, at some distance above the head of Dover bounds, lying wholly on the west side of said river, and beginning at Round Meadows." They granted such territory, 11th October, 1670, to "Benjamin Whitecott, of London, Doctor of Divinity, and Rebeckah," his "present wife, executrix of the will of Matthew Cradock," her "first husband," of the same city, mer-

* Adams's Portsmouth, p. 51-5.

† Hubbard's N. E. p. 608.

|| Adams's Portsmouth, p. 55.

‡ Farmer's Gen. Reg.

§ Probably at the house of his wife's father.

¶ Mass. Gen. Ct. Rec.

chant, for demands of the latter against the Company of the same Colony.

Samuel, son of Jeremy Belcher,* of Ipswich, Harvard College, 1659, preaches at the Isles of Shoals about the current year. He settled at West Newbury, November 10, 1698, resigned 1711, and died at Ipswich, March 10, 1716, in his 76th year.

1673. This year, Portsmouth confirms the agreement† made for seven years, by individuals among them in 1669, to pay the College £60 annually.

1674. May 27. The Legislature of Massachusetts‡ still provide for the annual government of New Hampshire, though aware that strenuous exertions were making to wrest it from their control.

Nicholas Shapleigh, who seems to have been of Kittery and had taken part in behalf of Quakers, is to pay £200, have the rest of his fine remitted and be cleared from prison, on the petition of his sister, Catharine Hilton.

July 28. A letter from the Rev. John Collins,§ in London, is addressed to Governor Leverett. It has the following passage: "Since I wrote you last, there hath been a proposition of alienating by the proprietors, the Province of Maine and what you call New Hampshire, to the King, to make an interest of it in the Duke of Monmouth, and it is proposed that he should send a Governor to raise to himself a revenue from it. I hope it will come to nothing. He that was all agog to go Governor thither, I had him dealt with all by a friend, and such discouragements laid before him, and ridiculousness of hoping for such a revenue as was proposed, of £5,000 a year or more, to the Duke, that I think is laid aside."

RHODE ISLAND.

1671. March 25. Roger Williams writes from Providence to John Cotton, of Plymouth.|| He faults the latter for severe terms used towards him, because he had argued in his book against his father, John Cotton, of Boston. He observes as to what occurred in England: "'Tis true my first book, the Bloody Tenet, was burnt by the Presbyterian party, then prevailing. But this book, whereof we now speak, being my reply to your father's answer, was received with applause and thanks by the army, and by the Parliament." He adds as follows: "Sir, you tell me my time is lost, etc., because (as I conceive you) not in the function of the ministry. I confess the offices of Christ Jesus are the best callings; but, gen-

* Farmer's Gen. Register. Lawrence (N. H.) Churches, p. 54.

† Adams's Annals, p. 56.

‡ Mass. Gen. Ct. Rec.

§ Hutchinson's Coll. p. 451.

|| Belknap MSS.

1671.]

erally they are the worst trades in the world, as they are practiced only for a maintenance, a place, a living, a benefice. God hath many employments for his servants. God knows I have much and long and conscientiously and mournfully weighed and digged into the differences of the Protestants themselves about the ministry. He knows what gains and preferments I have refused in university, city, country and court in Old England, and something in New England; and to keep my soul undefiled in this point and not to act with a doubting conscience, God was pleased to show me much of this in Old England. And in New England, unanimously chosen teacher at Boston, (before your dear father came divers years,) I conscientiously refused and withdrew to Plymouth, because I durst not officiate to an unseparated people, as upon examination and conference I found them to be. At Plymouth I spake on the Lord's days and week-days, and wrought hard at the hoe for my bread, and so afterward at Salem, until I found them both professing to be separated people in New England, (not admitting the most godly without a covenant,) and yet communicating with the parishes in Old, by their members repairing on frequent occasions thither."

April 11. The Governor and magistrates of Newport assembled here, answer* a letter from Governor Prince, of Plymouth, relative to alarms about the Indians. They write: "We heartily desire that the Lord will graciously assist you in your present agitations." They request that any matter, in their overtures to Philip, which they think important to be known, may be communicated to them.

May 3. John Crandal, from Newport, a Baptist preacher at Westerly, arrested by order of Connecticut, for claiming the territory of the latter town to be under the jurisdiction of Rhode Island, is advised by this Colony to give no bonds for his appearance, but rather suffer imprisonment. They engage to sustain his position, and pay his charges. Nearly two years before, they had sent a letter by him to Connecticut authorities, about such difficulties.

June. Samuel Hubbard and other Seventh-day Baptists, of Newport, were so offended with four of their number for re-professing the First-day for the Sabbath, as to call them apostates. Mr. Holmes preaches against such a position. He observes that they had left Christ and gone after Moses. They were cited by his church to answer. They did this through William Hiscox, who charged the elders of the church with denying the ten commandments. They were excommunicated on the 7th of December, and on the 23d of the same month, formed themselves into a separate church. Their names were William Hiscox, Samuel Hubbard, Roger Baster, Tacy Hubbard and Rachel Langworthy. Stephen

* R. I. Records.

Mumford, and wife Mary, who came from England to Newport, as Seventh-day Baptists, at the beginning of 1665, as Backus says, united with the excommunicants.*

On hearing of such differences, the Baptist church, who worshipped at Noddle's Island, opposite Boston, sent them a letter.† They advise them to retract. "Your judging them that have so done, and we hope have not unadvisedly changed their minds, to be *apostate*, seems to our understandings, to savour too much of a censorious disposition." Be not "so strait in your bowels towards others. Our desire is, if it may be the good pleasure of God, that this breach may be healed between you and the church."

June 7. General Assembly having ordered Francis Uselton to depart from the Island, who had now come into Newport without leave, while they are in session, and was walking through the streets, and, brought into their presence, insults them with impertinent language—order him to receive fifteen stripes and leave the Colony. Uselton seems to be a Quaker.

This year, Roger Williams, as he states in his book against George Fox, went and attended a General Assembly of Quakers at Newport. He attempted to set before them some considerations about the true and false Christ, and spirits which differed from their belief. They interrupted him. One suddenly prayed, another sang and a third prayed, and then the Assembly abruptly dissolved. He subsequently gave this as the reason why he did not attempt to address a similar collection at Providence when Fox was with them, but preferred to discuss certain questions separately and orderly.

"I said that John Burnet delivered many truths, yet withall, I then at the same time (in their public assembly at Newport) told them that it lay upon them to manifest to their own souls and others,—1. That their Christ was true. 2. That their Spirit was God's, and the rather because they were charged with denying the institutions of Christ Jesus, and with the setting up of many will-worships, as preaching of women, etc. I went on purpose to discourse of these matters, (this being the time of their General Assembly, and a great concourse.) I was stopt by the sudden praying of the Governor's wife, who also told me of her asking her husband at home, (meaning Christ, which I had touched upon.) I rose up and said, if a man had so alleged, I would have

* MSS. Callender's History, p. 65.

† Backus, vol. i. p. 411-13.

NOTE.—No person to be employed in the office of General, Serjeant or Sheriff, unless he can read and write.

Uselton and Thomas had three pence a day allowed for their maintenance while in prison. This is now allowed for all other prisoners while in confinement, if demanded towards their support, from the Colony treasurer.

William Thomas, sentenced to death for burglary, petitioning the Assembly for reprieve, had his sentence confirmed, and to be executed the day after tomorrow.—R. I. Records.

1672.]

answered him, but I would not countenance so much the violation of God's order in making a reply to a woman in public. Hereupon J. Nicols stood up and said: 'In Christ Jesus neither male nor female,' etc. I was replying to him and to J. Burnet's speech also concerning their spirit, but I was stopt by John Burnet's sudden falling to prayer and dismissing the assembly."

August 30. The Governor and Council send a letter* to the authorities of Plymouth. They observe that "there are more than ordinary causes to suspect and believe the Indians are treacherously inclined against the English in general;" and that they are bound, "through the assistance of the Almighty, to prevent their perfidious designs." They propose that Plymouth send men to meet several whom they had nominated, at Taunton, for conference on means of safety.

November 2. They write to the Plymouth Government in reply to two communications of the 14th and 29th of September.† They say: "The contents of both being very much obliging, doth indeed move us to be thankful unto the Most High, for preserving us yet in peace, and diverting the cloud which he was pleased to let hang over the country, threatening a storm of war, or the sad effects that attend thereupon, as burning, massacring and destroying persons and estates, which would inevitably have followed upon an absolute breach with the natives."

December 1. Benjamin Sweetser, of Charlestown, who belonged to the Baptist church, replies to a letter of Hubbard.‡ One of his passages is: "We should be glad to hear how it is with you, and desire, if it be the will of God, that love and peace may be continued betwixt you and the other society; although you may differ in some things, yet that there may be endeavors to keep the unity of the spirit in the bond of peace."

1672. Feb'y 24. William Harris, being in custody, is brought before "the Court of Justices" at Newport, composed of Benedict Arnold, Governor, and John Clark, Deputy Governor, and the Assistants.§ The prisoner gave in his answer to the charges of Roger Williams and William Tabor. The Court order the sheriff to keep Harris confined in prison here till next May session, on the accusation of "speaking and writing against his Majesty's charter, granted to this Colony, very much to the dishonor of our Sovereign Lord, the King, and subverting the government there established." This injunction was enforced.

April 2. Perceiving that it would be necessary to hasten the long delayed mission of Rev. John Clark to England, for securing their charter claim to Westerly and otherwise, and fearing the opposition of William Harris and others to their charter regulations,

* Records of R. I.

† Backus, vol. i. p. 405.

‡ Mass. Hist. Soc. Coll. 2 s. vol. vii. p. 109.

§ R. I. Col. Records.

and similar disorganization, the Assembly remark as follows: *
 "Being sensible of the great detriment of the Colony in general, and well-minded persons in particular, do sustain by reason of a covetous or factious and malicious spirit appearing in sundry towns and places of this Colony; who oppose all or any rates, and hereby prevailing, by their deluded adherents, in overpowering the more prudent and loyal parties in such town and place, to the frustration of the most necessary and needful ends for which such rates are levied; whereby the Colony is exposed to much discredit, and other detrainments, great and dangerous, even tending to ruin and subversion thereof in the issue, and in mean time to the intolerable burden and oppression of the more tractable and rational people," be it enacted, that all persons, who in any "town or place within this jurisdiction, shall resist the assessment of taxes, or any acts or orders," passed by the General Assembly, "shall be proceeded against for high contempt and sedition."

May 14. The General Assembly having been changed so far as to have a majority against several prominent points, sustained and acted on the last year of its political existence, now show their opinions. They speak of several acts, passed the preceding April, as "infringing the liberties of the people, and setting up an arbitrary power." They repeal the law passed in view of resistance by William Harris and others to the mode of taxation, and the order for John Clark to repeat his agency in England, and the provision to support him and his expenses for means to counteract the endeavors of Connecticut Colony relative to territory claimed by Rhode Island Colony. Of course the trial for which Harris was kept in prison, was quashed. These sudden changes appear to have been made partly through the influence of the Quaker party, who, as Judge Staples says in his *Annals of Providence*, had by this year gained an ascendancy in the Legislature.

30. George Fox,† who left England last year, reached Barbadoes, October 3; was at Jamaica, 23d of February, 1672; then visited Maryland, West and East Jersey, and Long Island; and arrived at Rhode Island on the date heading this statement. He soon exhibited his accustomed zeal and activity.

"We were gladly received‡ by Friends. We went to Nicholas Easton's house, Governor of the Island. On first day of the week following, we had a large meeting, to which the Deputy Governor and several Justices came, and were mightily affected with the truth. The week following, the yearly meeting for all the Friends of New England, and the other Colonies adjacent, was held in this Island; to which, besides very many Friends, who lived in those parts, came John Stubbs, from Barbadoes, and James Lancaster and John Cartwright, from another way. This meeting lasted six days; of

* R. I. Col. Rec.

† Fox's Jour. vol. i. p. 351.

‡ Ibid. p. 360-8.

1672.]

which the first four days were general public meetings for worship; to which abundance of the world's people came. For they having no priests in the Island, and so no restriction to any particular way of worship; and both the Governor, and Deputy Governor, with several Justices of the Peace daily frequenting the meetings, this did so encourage the people, that they flocked from all parts of the Island." Fox remarks that the "Truth had a good reception."

On the fifth day was the men's-meeting, and on the sixth, was women's-meeting,—both large and solemn. At these meetings, other similar meetings were appointed elsewhere, to "take care of the poor and other affairs of the church." It was hard for those who had come together to separate, and "they spent two days in taking leave one of another."

John Burneyate, with John Cartwright and George Pattison, "went into the eastern parts of New England, in company with the Friends, that came from thence, to visit the particular meetings there, whom John Stubbs and James Lancaster intended to follow a while after, in the same service of truth."

"Robert Widders and I staid some time longer also upon this Island, finding service still here for the Lord, through the great openness of the people, and the daily coming in of fresh people from other Colonies, for some time after the general meeting was over."

Fox attended a meeting for the Ranters, of whom there were many, and thought that it was followed with good. A man who had been a Justice twenty years, "was convinced, and spake highly of the truth."

Fox went to Providence and held a meeting in a great barn. The Governor of Rhode Island and many others accompanied him. Fox says that the number present was very large, comprising some who came to dispute with him. He observes, "The people went away mightily satisfied, much desiring another meeting." He then held a large meeting at Narragansett, accompanied by the Governor of Rhode Island. He took his course through the Colonies to Virginia, and thence to England.

July 13. Roger Williams, having read the works of George Fox, (a leading Quaker of England, who had recently arrived at Rhode Island, attended the yearly meeting of this denomination at the house of William Coddington, at Newport; and a few days prior to this date, had spoken publicly at Providence,) sends an offer to Fox, now at Newport, for the discussion of fourteen propositions. He desires that seven of them may be considered at Newport and the rest at Providence, because Fox had advanced his opinions in both of these places, and induced many persons to become his followers. After stating the preliminaries necessary to regular debate, Williams proceeds to specify the propositions.

"1. That the people called Quakers, are not true Quakers according to the Holy Scriptures.

"2. That the Christ they profess is not the true Lord Jesus Christ.

"3. That the Spirit by which they are acted, is not the Spirit of God.

"4. That they do not own the Holy Scriptures.

"5. That their principles and professions are full of contradictions and hypocrisies.

"6. That their religion is not only an heresy in matters of worship, but also in the doctrines of repentance, faith, etc.

"7. That their religion is but a confused mixture of Popery, Arminianism, Socinianism, Judaism, etc.

"8. The people called Quakers (in effect) hold no God, no Christ, no Spirit, no Angel, no Devil, no Resurrection, no Judgment, no Heaven, no Hell, but what is in man.

"9. All that their religion requires (external and internal) to make converts and proselytes, amounts to no more than what a reprobate may easily attain unto and perform.

"10. That the Popes of Rome do not swell with and exercise a greater pride than the Quakers' spirit hath exprest, and doth aspire unto, although many truly humble souls may be captivated amongst them, as may be in other religions.

"11. The Quakers' religion is more obstructive, and destructive to the conversion and salvation of the souls of people, than most of the religions this day extant in the world.

"12. The sufferings of the Quakers are no true evidence of the truth of their religion.

"13. That their many books and writings are extremely poor, lame, naked, and swelled up with high titles and words of boasting and vapor.

"14. That the spirit of their religion tends mainly: 1, To reduce persons from civility to barbarism: 2, To an arbitrary government, and the dictates and decrees of that sudden spirit that acts in them: 3, To a sudden cutting off of people, yea, kings and princes opposing them: 4, To as fiery persecutions for matters of religion and conscience, as hath been or can be practiced by any hunters or persecutors in the world."

Williams proceeds to relate that he forwarded these propositions to his friend, John Cranston, Deputy Governor, so that he might notify Fox; but that the former did not receive them until the 26th, after the latter left the country. He adduces proof that the friends of Fox kept back the propositions, so that he might depart and be free from the debate; and that others, whom he left behind, might stand in his stead. Among his trials on this occasion, he mentions a letter written in a bitter style, from J. T., who had been

1672.]

his particular friend for forty years, but, very lately, had embraced the Quaker belief. This J. T. was probably John Throgmorton, who espoused the cause of Williams at Salem, and settled with him at Providence. The said letter was dated July 18. It charged the propositions made to Fox, as "impudent lies and slanders," and calls upon Williams to renounce his errors and repent. On the same day Williams replied to Throgmorton. The former said: "If I had not abhorred lies, I had long, ere this, fined the country about this barbarous land (as some in this Colony have done.) I had murdered the Indians and English by the powder and liquor trade, to which you know I had temptation as much as yourself, or any others in New England. You are dangerously bold to say that you write from the Spirit of truth. I only instance in that monstrous act of your women and maidens, stripping themselves stark naked by your spirit, and with a face of brass coming into the open streets and public congregations of men and youth. This spirit (though defended by G. Fox and others) is such a piece of unnatural and brutish impudence, that I cannot hear of the like amongst Jews or Gentiles, yea, not amongst the most savage, base and barbarous of them all, (all circumstances considered.) I observe your inconstancy. How often have I heard you speak of the chief of the Quakers now at Newport. How lately and how much have you uttered of John Crosman's cross and froward spirit, (ever since he pretended the Spirit,) yet how inhuman and injurious to yourself, in the way of his calling! Now all on a sudden (for I heard but little until I saw your lines) you are got up into the lofty chair of judging, and ready to say, 'God, I thank thee, I am not as this publican.'"

On the 23d, he had a rejoinder from J. T., who, after severely censuring the observations of Williams, adds: "I know thou hast undertaken a great burthen in challenging G. Fox to answer thy positions. I wish thee to provide thy armor of proof, as Goliath, that defied the army of Israel. G. Fox is furnished with that armor that thou hast no skill to make use of; having also the sword of the Spirit to cut down all thy airy imaginations." To this, Williams immediately sent an answer. He refers to the manner in which he was treated by the General Assembly of Quakers at Newport. He denies the charge that he had treated William Harris unjustly for treason against the laws of England and of this Colony, "who hath with all his power now kindled and blown this fire between Connecticut Colony and ourselves."

Not satisfied, J. T. addresses Williams once more, in a reproachful manner, as: "Oh murderous man, that hath not any remorse for thy long-lived wickedness." Williams replies on the 30th: "I heartily wish that your hands were washed from the bloody trade of liquors to the Indians, which even the Quakers have practiced, telling the Indians that the Quakers only know God, and

therefore would sell them powder and liquors cheaper, and they would not mix water with rum, as others did. So that by many sudden deaths, what by consumptions and drowsies, the barbarians have been murdered, hundreds, if not thousands, in the whole country; and more in this Colony than in any part of the country beside, that I have heard of, against which I have witnessed from Court to Court in vain."

He remarks that some Quaker, imagining himself actuated by a good spirit, though by an evil one, may see fit to murder him, so that the prediction of J. T., that he must repent in forty days or perish, may be verified.

A few days after, the Deputy Governor Cranston delivered the proposals of Williams, (which he received the 26th of July, some hours after Fox had left Newport.) John Stubs, John Burnyeat, and other Quakers, called on him at Providence. They proposed the 9th of August for the discussion at Newport, to which he agreed.

The next morning he wrote to them, that as some of his neighbors wished, he would, according to his offer, discuss the first seven propositions at Newport, and the others at Providence. The letter was put into the hand of one of their number. Receiving no answer, he addressed them again, late in the evening, on the same subject. They replied that it should be as he had desired.

August 8. Williams remarks: "God graciously assisting me in rowing all day with my old bones, so that I got to Newport toward midnight before the morning appointed." He sent his opponents a paper relative to the way in which he thought they should proceed in their discussion, and particularly, as he was alone, he should have but one of them speak to him at the same time. He also mentioned to them, that some of his friends objected to have the debate in the Quaker meeting-house. But he did not think with them. He observed: "I could freely go into the Pope's chapel to dispute against the Pope and his worship."

9. Having assembled at the Quaker meeting-house, at nine o'clock, a large collection of people waited with various wishes and anticipations, according to their creed. Williams observes that he found there three noted preachers of the Quakers, namely, John Stubs, John Burnyeat and William Edmundson, "sitting together on a high bench with some of the magistrates of their judgment with them. I had heard that John Stubs was learned in the Hebrew and the Greek, and I found him so. As for John Burnyeat, I found him to be of a moderate spirit, and a very able speaker. William Edmundson was newly come, as was said, from Virginia, and he proved the chief speaker, a man not so able nor so moderate as the other two." Williams took his seat at the other end of the house opposite to them. He began the debate, by remarking that he undertook it, not out of prejudice to any person or denomina-

1672.]

tion, but for the sake of divine truth. He closed his preface thus: "I do humbly hope and beg of God, the Father of spirits, so to order and direct our spirits in these our agitations, that his holy name may receive glory, and the souls of us all some soul-profit and advantage." The first day was spent in the discussion of his first proposition, "that the people, called Quakers, are not the true Quakers according to the holy Scriptures." While a few of Williams's friends sustained him by occasional remarks, more did the same for his opponents. He complained that his proposal for having but one at a time reply to him, was often, and sometimes to himself, vexatiously disregarded, especially by Edmundson. He bore down on the Quakers heavily, while they retorted on him with severity.

10. When the second day of the contest appeared, Williams had a hoarseness and head-ache. He therefore took his seat nearer to Stubs and his assistants, so that he might not strain his voice. He began on the second proposition, "that their Christ was not the true Lord Jesus." The day was spent in arguments and affirmations. Williams says that because of his inability to speak with his usual clearness and vigor, some Quakers accused him of being drunk, though he had taken nothing stronger than milk, as his daughter Hart, at whose house he tarried, could testify. At the close of the day, the parties agreed to dispatch the rest of the questions, assigned to Newport, in a quarter of an hour for each of them.

11. When the hour arrived for the discussion to commence, Williams received a letter, which he supposed was from his brother, Robert Williams, school-master at Newport, and which he handed to his antagonists, but they declined to have it read. Still he gives it a place in his printed narrative. By it Robert does not entirely coincide with his brother Roger, thinking that the latter should have dealt privately with his opponents before charging them publicly with errors, and that his propositions laid too much on the Quakers. On the other hand, Robert complained of Stubs and his two associates, because they would not allow liberty of speech to the friends of Roger, and thus quenched the Spirit in them, and they treated his brother, "their elder fellow-servant and father, with indecorum, both in words and gestures." He proceeds on this point: "Again your improper charging the complainant with mispending of time, when in truth it was yourselves in not suffering of him orderly to proceed, by your often iterations, tautologies, indecorum, behavior and expressions, with improper preachments at that time, and yet lay the defect upon the aged, and would not be satisfied with his substantial proofs, divine reasons and argumental demonstrations."

Having adduced these remarks, referring to the transactions of the two preceding days, we will attend to the acts of the third day. Roger Williams began on his position, "That the spirit by which

they were acted was not the true Spirit of God." He passed through the rest of the seven, with the usual rejoinders, by the time that the boat was ready to sail for Providence, in which he was going home. Just as he was stepping down from his place to depart, amid the clamors of the Quakers that he had proved nothing, his brother's wife Elizabeth, of the Baptists in Newport, "said aloud, the man hath discharged his conscience. He hath fully proved what he undertook to prove against you, and the words that he hath spoken, shall judge you at the last day." The reply to Williams by John Burnyeat and George Fox, called "A New England Fire-brand Quenched," denies, of course, his various positions.

17. According to agreement, the opponents of Williams met him at Providence. He offered his brother's letter to be read, but they objected, particularly Edmundson, whose carriage was so offensive, that Captain John Greene, of Warwick, inquired whether Mr. Williams was there "as a delinquent to answer at the bar, or as a disputant on equal terms." After other questions, Williams entered on the seventh proposition. Having gotten through the whole fourteen, he remarked, that "the conclusion was ordered by the Father of mercies with much peace and quietness."

To the question which he asked about the Quakers, near the close of his argument: "Was there ever any known, (professing the fear of God in so high a measure,) so sharp and cutting in their tongue?" The Fire-brand said, that such severity accorded with the Scripture rule. It addressed Williams: "If thou comest not down into the dust and mournest for these things, thy day will be darkness and thy end everlasting destruction."

Thus terminated one of the most exciting discussions ever before carried on in New England. So far as the particulars of it have come to us, it is very evident, that Roger Williams had thought much on the subject, and brought strong arguments to substantiate his charges against the Quakers. Over these he had an advantage in the order of his facts and reasons, and consequently had the better of the controversy. One cause not only of their failure, but also most of their writers, to confirm what they hold as the truth of their system, was, that they trusted too much to the impulse of present feeling, which they supposed was the instruction of the Holy Spirit, and too little to deliberate consideration and logical arrangement, both entirely consistent with the aid of this Divine Teacher.*

About this date, Roger Williams, in his "Strictures on George Fox and his followers," compares the maledictions of them with those of Reeves and Muggleton, who pretended to be the two last prophets and witnesses. He observes of these two persons: "Thus, about twenty years ago, did the poor cheated souls in Lon-

* George Fox digged out of his Burrows, New England Fire-brand Quenched.

1673.]

don, thunder out their eternal sentence of damnation upon the souls of their opposites, and that with such seriousness, confidence and majesty, that I have known solid Christians put into a fright by them." He adds: "A few years since, two Maries (Quakers) from London, called on me and bade me repent and receive the true light, cursed me for my admonitions, and hastened to Barbadoes. On their passage, they promised the crew that not a hair of their head should perish, if they would fight a Dutch vessel, which attacked them." Both of these women were then killed.*

August 12. William Coddington addresses Richard Bellingham, Simon Bradstreet and William Hawthorn, as members of Massachusetts Government, relative to ten pounds' worth of Quaker books, which he had, years before, expected from Barbadoes, but which were through mistake landed at Piscataqua, and thence brought to Boston. He also accompanies remarks on this subject, with others of rebuke for treatment of the Quakers, as a denomination, which he had professed. In another letter of next October 20, Coddington complains that Bellingham had burnt up his first communication.

November 6. The Assembly nullify the procedure of Capt. John Green, one of the Assistants, who had authorized a bill of divorcement between Richard Pray and Mary Pray, and declare their abhorrence of all such transactions. They command their declaration against liberty of this kind to be sent to all the towns, "that they may know we endeavor good law, all men's peace and safety, but no man's vice."

1673. May 7. The Assembly appoint a committee† to confer with the Indian Sachems, on "some way to prevent the extreme excess of the Indians' drunkenness, that so, if possible, such enormities as thereupon ensue, may be prevented."

August 13. The Assembly at Newport, having been informed that the Dutch had taken New York on the 30th ult, order further

* George Fox Digg'd out of his Burrows, p. 15, 27.

† Rec. of R. I.

NOTE.—1672, Nov. 6. Block Island, granted in 1658, by Massachusetts, to John Endicott, Richard Bellingham, Daniel Dennison and William Hawthorn, is now incorporated by Rhode Island Assembly, under the name of New Shoreham.

1673, May 7. Thomas Cornell, of Portsmouth, sentenced to death for the murder of his mother, Mrs. Rebecca Cornell, had his estate seized by the Assembly. These, for the sake of his wife and children, order the Town Council to make a will and divide it among said relatives of the criminal, and supply them out of its amount. Cornell had petitioned the Assembly that his body might be laid by his mother's; but they refused. They permitted that his remains might be deposited at the upper end of the land he had forfeited, within twenty feet of the common road, where, if they see fit, they may have monuments set up, as warnings. Otherwise, his body is to be laid under or near the gallows.

Four pounds (£4) are allowed the "General Sergeant for the execution of Thomas Cornell and the Indian Punean." Under March, 1673, Rev. Mr. Bradstreet's journal says: "A man was hanged at Rhode Island for killing his mother."

preparations to be made for defense. They provide that men raised for this purpose and disabled, shall have a pension; and those killed, shall be remembered, so that relatives who depended for support on them, shall have assistance. They excuse all persons from military duty, whose conscience is opposed to training, fighting and killing. This they do under a long argument.

October 16. Giles Slocum, Sen., and his wife Joan, and their children, Giles Slocum, Jacob and Joanna Moot, are excommunicated from Mr. Clarke's church* at Newport, "for embracing the soul-endangering error, that the Man Christ Jesus was not in heaven, nor earth, nor anywhere; that his body was entirely lost; and they fell in with the sad principles of Quakerism in the early days of its spreading in this Colony."

29. John Clark lays his claim before the Assembly for £450 sterling still due him for his mission to England; but while they desire that they may appoint some one to inquire how the debt came to be so large, they do not think it is.

1674. May 11. A writer in Boston,† to whom William Coddington, of Rhode Island, had addressed a salutation about "the enemy's taking a sloop, etc.," replies that he had handed it to Mr. Bradstreet. He notices some remarks of Coddington concerning persecution. This calls forth the latter at large, and he contends that persecution has existed in New England. He remarks: "Our profession in England, which thou mentionest, about fifty years ago, was far before yours in the Massachusetts. We stood together for the public good. I was one of those many Lincolnshire gentlemen, so called, that denied the royal law, and suffered for it in King Charles the First's days, and bishops and ceremonies were denied by us and all evils. Assure thyself I am supported by that Power, that I shall never dishonor my grey hairs to come to you, for I am the servant of the Lord, that worship him in spirit, rejoice in Christ Jesus, and have no confidence in your fleshly wisdom." With respect to his belief that the world would embrace Quakerism, he says: "Blessed be God, that so many have come to the sun-rising, which shall rise more and more, until the knowledge of the Lord cover the earth, as the waters cover the sea. Behold, ye despisers, and wonder!" This prediction has not proved correct.

At the close of this year,‡ the family of James Rogers, of New London, desire Mr. Crandal to come from Westerly and preach for

* R. I. Hist. Soc. MSS. † Besse, vol. ii. p. 265-70. ‡ Backus, vol. i. p. 473.

NOTE.—1673, Oct. 23. For the trial of the Indian Iankesick, in prison for the murder of Ossawan, an Indian, the Assembly order a jury of six Englishmen and six Indians to try him. They order that in this and all other cases, Indians may give testimony.

1674, May 18. The Assembly, being desired by Canonicus, chief sachem of the Narragansets, that he may have the body of "the Indian called the Old Man, alias Poagnett," when he is hanged and dead, grant the request.

1671.]

them. He complied, and baptized John and James Rogers, sons of the former, and an Indian called Japheth, as Seventh-day Baptists.

Giving an account, this year, of missions among the Indians of New England,* Gookin makes the subsequent statements. Several of the English in Rhode Island and Providence Plantations "are skillful in the Indian tongue, especially Mr. Williams." The last has preached to some of the Indians in his neighborhood, but it is not known that any of them have become Christians. Such natives are uncommonly averse to embracing the gospel. For this, Gookin assigns the following reasons: "First, the averseness of their sachems. Secondly, the bad example of the English in those parts, where civil government and religion among the English, run very low. Those two orders of magistracy and ministry, are as Jachin and Boaz, strength and stability, upon which the happiness and prosperity of any people doth, under God, depend; and where these are wanting in splendor and beauty, I never promise myself to see any great honor or good to such people."

The communication made by Coddington to Bellingham, Bradstreet and Hawthorn, in 1672, about Quaker books and punishment, is issued from the press. It composes twenty pages, small quarto. Its title-page is, "A Demonstration of True Love unto you, the Rulers of the Colony of Massachusetts, in New England." It contains some valuable items of history, and the discursive severity of style then usual for writers of his sect.

CONNECTICUT.

1671. May 11. The Assembly appoint the third Wednesday of June for a public Fast,† because of divisions and decay of religion, growth of impiety and profaneness; and to implore the remission of sins from the Lord, and that he would "pour forth a spirit of conversion upon the present and rising generation," and "prosper the work now begun among the Indians in this Colony, that if it be his holy will they may become subjects to the kingdom of our Lord Jesus."

They express their pleasure in being assured that Uncas and Owaneecoe, with some of their people, have been persuaded to hear the gospel from Rev. James Fitch and others. They "declare to all these people, both Sachems and others," who are ready to attend on Christian instruction, that they will encourage them therein. They conclude to request the Commissioners, that they would employ Mr. Fitch for such a purpose. It must have been very gratifying to them to perceive such indications in those chiefs,

* Gookin's Coll. Mass. Hist. Coll. 1 s. vol. i. p. 210.

† Conn. Col. Rec.

while Philip was giving much trouble to Plymouth by his anti-Christian policy.

They appoint a committee to visit Rye, and endeavor to settle difficulties there. They also instruct them to give their assistance for obtaining "an able and orthodox minister" to settle there; and if the people of the town will not co-operate with them, they are authorized to agree with such a preacher, so that he may dispense the gospel for £40 a year to the inhabitants, and this sum shall be assessed upon them with their colonial rate. This was plainly telling the people, that if they would not maintain religious institutions, as their best safeguard, the rulers would interpose and compel them to perform the duty.*

For the encouragement of Daniel Porter, the Assembly increase his salary from £6 to £12, for service to the Colony in setting bones, etc., and they "advise him to instruct some meet person in his art.†

September 4. John Eliot states to the Commissioners, that Mr. Fitch "holds a lecture at his own house every fortnight," to instruct "Monohegan" Indians. "Uncas and his son have promised to attend it. This, Mr. Fitch by his letters of Uncas' coming in, is a great matter. I desire the work may be countenanced and supported in that end of the country. It may by God's blessing have influence upon the Manquags. Touching the state of the work at Long Island, in the hand of Mr. James, I have nothing as yet this year."

This year Mr. Fitch delivered the following discourse: ‡ "'Peace, the end of the perfect and upright,' preached upon the occasion of the decease of that piously affected and truly religious matron, Mrs. Anne Mason; sometime wife to Major Mason, who not long after finished his course and is now at rest."

John Sherman, one of the licensers for the press, gives an introduction to the discourse, and speaks of Mrs. Mason's "life and death" as "exemplary and instructive."

A letter from Mr. Hooker to the New Haven church,§ says: "Mr. Caryl, Mr. Newman and myself, have received sugars from Barbadoes, to the value of about £90, and have disposed of it to the several poor ministers, and ministers' widows. And this fruit of your bounty is very thankfully received and acknowledged by us. And the good Lord make all grace to abound towards you." This charity was contributed on the annual Thanksgiving of 1665, in grain and other commodities, for ejected ministers and their families in England. The donations so collected, were exchanged at Barbadoes for sugar, which was disposed of as already described. Thus the benefaction was completed after the lapse of several years.

* Conn. Col. Rec. † Ibid. ‡ It was printed at Cambridge, Ms., 1672.

§ Town Records. Bacon's Discourses, p. 167, 8.

1672.]

1672. January 30. John Mason, as the journal of Rev. Mr. Bradstreet states, having greatly suffered the two or three last years of his life, with the strangury, dies with much spiritual "comfort, and assured it would be well with him." Bradstreet puts the age of Mason at about seventy, others seventy-two. Casting in his lot with those who desired and endeavored to found a religious Commonwealth in Massachusetts, he came to this country,* and settled at Dorchester. There he was admitted freeman, 1635, and the same year and the next, was a deputy of the General Court. When the Rev. Mr. Warham left that place for Windsor, 1636, Mason accompanied him. Well for the Colonists of Connecticut, that he was with them. The Pequods had assumed so bold and murderous a stand, that the English were compelled to war against them, or perish themselves. In 1637, Mason, with a small but intrepid band, gained a signal victory over these enemies. After recounting the events of this campaign, he says: "Thus was God in the mount, crushing his proud enemies and the enemies of his people. It is He that hath made this work wonderful, and therefore ought to be remembered." He continued to be one of the main stays of the Colony for a long period. He removed to Saybrook, 1647, and to Norwich, 1659. He was chosen magistrate from 1642 to 1659, and Deputy Governor, 1660 to 1669, inclusive. He was also a Major General. He left sons Samuel, John and Daniel. He appears to have been providentially raised up to meet the perilous necessities of Connecticut.

Prince observed: "I have often thought what a special favor it was, that there came over with the first settlers of Plymouth and Connecticut Colonies, which in those times were especially exposed to the superior power of the barbarians round them, two brave Englishmen, bred to arms in the Dutch Netherlands, viz., Capt. Miles Standish, of Plymouth, and Capt. John Mason, of Connecticut; gentlemen of tried valor, military skill and conduct, great activity and warm zeal for that noble cause of pure Scriptural Religion and Religious Liberty, which were the chief original design and interest of the Fathers of these Plantations, and who were acted with such eminent degrees of faith and piety, as excited them to the most daring enterprises in the cause of God and of his people, and went a great way to their wonderful successes."

March 4. Abraham Pierson, Jr., Harvard College, 1668, is settled at Newark,† N. J., as colleague with his father, whom he began to assist in preaching, July 26, 1669. In 1673, Messrs. Jasper Crane, John Ogden, Robert Bond, Obadiah Brewen, and Abraham Pierson, "with many loving neighbors and friends," are recommended by Messrs. Samuel Willis and John Winthrop, to Sir George Cartaret, as emigrants to his Province.

* Prince's Introduction to Mason's Pequot War.

† Lambert's New Haven, p. 150. Mass. Hist. Soc. Coll. 3 s. vol. x. p. 84.

April 27. The wife of Colonel Goffe, called by his political opponents a regicide, writes from London, to him as at Hadley. She speaks of her sorrows through his absence, but of her consolation from the religion of Christ. She states as a fact of spiritual and mutual joy, that their daughter had recently united with a church. She mentions that supplies had been sent to him, and desires that when he and her father, Whalley, wished for more, she may be informed. Referring to the late allowance from the Crown for the silenced Congregational ministers to preach, she observes: "The people of God enjoy much liberty at present, but what the issue of it may be, the Lord knows." She cautions him about the contents of his letters directed to her, lest they may betray him. She observes: "I shall not cease to pray for you and all the people of the Lord with you, especially for those that show kindness to you, to whom I desire to be remembered, and return hearty thanks for all their great love."

September 6. The Commissioners* of the Confederation had paid James Fitch, of Norwich, £31 10s. for labors among the Mohegan Indians, being the amount of income from Mr. Mouthe's donation the past year, for so beneficent a purpose. They had appropriated £10 to well-deserving Indians, who assisted him in his missionary labors, and £10 to worthy Pequods and others near them. Gookin says of Fitch: "I heard that this good man doth put forth his utmost endeavors," so far as the duties of his congregation will allow, "to teach the Indians, and that some are hopefully coming on."

October 10. The General Court order a copy of their laws, being viewed and approved, to be printed.† Trumbull says that such acts had been kept hitherto in manuscript, and were made known by being publicly read in the respective towns. They were printed at Cambridge, early the next year, by Samuel Green. The Court, in their introduction to such a code, observe: "We have endeavored not only to ground our capital laws upon the Word of God, but also all our other laws upon due justice and equity, held forth in that Word which is a most perfect rule." They add: "Our whole aim in all, being to please and glorify God, to approve ourselves loyal subjects to our sovereign, and to promote the welfare of his people in all godliness and honesty, in peace, which will be the more establishing to his Majesty's crown and dignity, and best answer his religious direction in our Charter. And that pure religion and undefiled before God, according to the Gospel of our Lord Jesus, may be maintained amongst us, which was the end

* Hutchinson's Coll. p. 432.

† Hazard's Coll. vol. ii. p. 530, 1.

NOTE.—May 9. The Legislature grant to each County town in the Counties of Fairfield and New London, of New Haven and Hartford, six hundred acres of land for the sole use of a grammar-school forever.

1672.]

of the first planters who settled these foundations; and ought to be the endeavor of those that shall succeed to uphold and encourage unto all generations."

Under capital laws, idolatry, blasphemy, witchcraft, cursing or smiting a parent, and rebellion against father or mother, are punishable with death.

The laws against the Quakers and their books or manuscripts, "Ranters, Adamites or such like," are continued.

Those as to "embodying into church estate with consent of the General Court and neighboring churches," and allowance of "no ministry or church separate from and in opposition" to these, established in any town, except by the like approval, "on the penalty of five pounds for every breach of this order," are renewed. An exception to the last clause is, that orderly religious meetings may be held for fasts, conferences, etc., and particularly by such as are hindered from attending "the public assembly, by weather or water."

The Congregational mode of worship is approved, as heretofore. "But as sundry persons of worth for prudence and piety amongst us are otherwise persuaded," they "being approved according to law, as orthodox and sound in the fundamentals of Christian religion, may have allowance in their persuasion and profession in church ways or assemblies without disturbance."

For the first contempt shown to regular preachers and their doctrine, the offender shall be reprovèd and bound to good behavior; for the second, he shall "pay five pounds, or stand two hours openly upon a block or stool four feet high, upon a public meeting-day, with a paper fixed on his breast, written with capital letters, *An open and obstinate contemner of God's holy ordinances.*"

In any place of one hundred soldiers, twenty of them, in full armor, shall guard the meeting-house in all times of public worship, and in no place shall such a guard be less than eight soldiers and a sergeant.

Gaming with the "shuffle-board, cards, dice or tables," is prohibited on certain penalties. Whoever is found drunk in a private family shall pay 20/., and the head of the family where he is so discovered, shall pay 10/. Profanity shall be on penalty of 10/., or sitting in the stocks not less than an hour.

All persons who are able are required, as previously, to attend public worship on the Lord's day, and Fast and Thanksgiving days, and to cease from play and unnecessary work on the Sabbath, on penalty of 5/. for each trespass.

The civil authorities are empowered "to see the peace, ordinances and rules of Christ observed in every church according to his Word." They may deal with church members for offenses, in a legal manner, and churches may deal with them, as members thereof, for a like cause, in an ecclesiastical way.

With regard to the original proprietors of the soil, the authorities take the following action. "This Court, judging it meet that some means should be used to convey the knowledge of God and of his Word to the Indians and natives amongst us, do order that one or more of the teaching elders of the churches in this jurisdiction, with the help of an able interpreter, shall be desired as often as he may, in every year, to go amongst the neighboring Indians and endeavor to make known to them the counsels of the Lord, thereby to draw and stir them up to direct and order all their ways and conversations according to the rule of his Word; and the Governor and Deputy Governor, and other magistrates, are desired to take care to see the thing attended, and with their own presence, so far as may be convenient, to encourage the same."

All Indians who labor or play on the Sabbath within the Colony, "shall pay 5/., or sit in the stocks one hour." "No Indian shall at any time powow or perform outward worship to false gods or to the devil, within this jurisdiction, upon the penalty of five pounds by every such powow, and 20/ by every person of the age of twenty-one years, that shall countenance the same by his presence."

17. That the people might have the laws enacted for their benefit continually before them, the Court order that every family shall purchase a book containing them, and pay for it in silver or wheat. The constables of the several towns are required to see that this rule is observed. They set the price of the book at 12*d.* in silver, or one and a half pecks of wheat, or two-thirds of a bushel of peas, at 3*s.* a bushel.*

This year John Youngs, who became the minister of Southold, Long Island, under the protection of New Haven Colony, 1640, dies in that town, aged seventy-four years. He left wife, Mary, and sons, John, Thomas and Benjamin, and daughters. He came from Hingham, England, to help plant and spread the gospel in a new world, and he ever remained faithful to his sacred purpose.

Soon after his decease, his people sent messengers to Boston for a preacher, and returned with Joshua Hobart, who became their pastor. He was son of Rev. Peter Hobart, settled at Hingham, Massachusetts, born 1628, graduated at Harvard College, 1650, and had preached at Beverly and other places.†

1673. June 7. The following‡ is the contract of Uncas to hear the Gospel: "Be it known to all men, and in special to the authority of the Colony of Connecticut, That I, Uncas, Sachem of the Munheags, now resident in Pamechaug, doe by these presents firmly engage and binde myselfe, that I will from time to time and at all times hereafter, in a constant way and manner, attend upon

* Conn. Col. Rec.

† Thompson's Long Island, vol. i. p. 395.

‡ Coit Gilman's Discourse, p. 12, 13.

1674.]

Mr. James Fitch, Minister of Norwich, at all such seasons as he shall appoint for preaching to and praying with the Indians, either at my now residence, or wheresoever els he shall appoint for that holy service; and further, I doe faithfully promis to command all my people to attend the same, in a constant way and solemn manner, at all such times as shall be sett by the sayd Mr. James Fitch, Minister; alsoe I promis, that I will not by any wayes or meanes what soe ever, either privatly or openly, use any plots or contriveances, by words or actions, to affright or discourage any of my people or others, from attending the good work aforesayd, upon penalty of suffering the most greivous punishment that can be inflicted upon me; and lastly, I promis to encourage all my people, by all good wayes and meanes I can, in the due observance of such directions and instructions, as shall be presented to them by the sayd Mr. James Fitch, aforesayd. And to the truth hereof, this seventh day of June, in the year one thousand six hundred seventy and three, I have hereunto set my hand or mark.


Witnessed by us,

John Tallcott,

Ths: Stanton, Ser.

Samuell Mason.

Mark

The  of Uncas,
of Uncas."

August 27. The Commissioners of the United Colonies* approve of the communication made by the Assembly to the Dutch on the 7th instant. They declare that according to their articles of confederation, they shall always "account the damage or spoil, done to any one member, as done to the whole, and are therefore firmly resolved, in confidence of divine assistance, accordingly to demean themselves."

October 18. The Assembly recommend to the churches and congregations "most seriously to bear on their hearts the troublesome and hazardous affairs and interests of the people of God throughout the world in general, and in particular our own nation, and to observe some day or days of humiliation and prayer this winter season."

In this year, the Rogereens, or followers of John Rogers, of New London, who worshiped on the first day of the week, but worked on it as other days, gave evidence of their persistency in such a persuasion.† James Rogers, Jr., for sailing in a vessel; Edward Stallion, for similar action, from New London to Norwich; and Steven Chalker, for driving cattle on the Lord's day, are fined, the first 20/., the second 40/., and the third 20/.

1674. April 22. Nicholas Street, who came from Taunton to New Haven, and after preaching as a candidate, was installed colleague to John Davenport, 26th of November, 1659, is summoned to close his life. His first wife was sister to Elizabeth Poole, one

* Conn. Col. Rec. Appendix, p. 563. † Caulkins's New London, p. 251.

of the principal founders of Taunton. His second wife was the widow of Governor Newman. Of his children were one son and four daughters, all married. His "Considerations upon the Seven Propositions concluded by the Synod," and published as an appendix to Davenport's work on the same subject, "shows great clearness of thought." With reference to such a publication, Mr. Street wrote a letter, in the Mather papers, to Samuel Bache, of Boston, dated 15th of May, 1666, and expressed himself as follows: "I had never a stronger bent in my spirit to any undertaking and had a great conflict upon some account, too large to write, which did drive me to God to seek direction, guidance and help of Him, without which I can do nothing, being nothing in and of myself, and He hath graciously answered me.—If I could call any thing that came from me, the child of my prayers and tears, I can this." Mr. Street being chosen by the New Haven church successor to Mr. Hooke and colleague to Mr. Davenport, strongly indicated that he was accounted as of more than ordinary talents, knowledge and piety. From his composition, he evidently cherished the motives commended by Christ, and which led him to a faithful compliance with his commission to preach the gospel.

May 14. The General Assembly of Connecticut begin their session. James Fitch, of Norwich, preaches the Election Sermon. The text was Zechariah ii. 5,—and the doctrine, "When the Lord is the glory in the midst of the people, then he will be a wall of fire round about them." An address to the reader is signed by John Whiting and Joseph Haines. "The great work still remains, that we believe in earnest, and demean ourselves as believing, that our all is in the hand of God. In respect of glory and defense, we stand and fall therein, as his pleasure is to deal with us." The preacher remarks: "We live in perilous days. Are some storms blown over? Worse than those may soon come upon New England. Will the Lord be a pillar of fire round about New England? The answer to this question depends upon an answer to another question, Whether the Lord be the glory in the midst of his churches in New England? Let us call to mind the first glory in the first planting of New England, and of the churches here. Let me say multitudes, multitudes were converted to thee, even to thee, O Hartford, to thee, O New Haven, and to thee, O Windsor, and the same may be said of many churches of Christ in New England. The Lord will not be engaged to defend us, if we do not keep his glory in the midst of us. He will not account it honorable to keep house, if the house be filled only or principally with vessels of dishonor and reproach. Let us consider, by way of comfort to those who are faithful in this matter of holding up his glory among them, according to the measure of their abilities and opportunities, in public or private occasions or concerns: the Lord knows

1674.]

you have a hard work in hand, and much opposition from without and within, but this is your comfort, the Lord is your defense."

As a matter suited to diminish their anxiety, and increase their hope for the church, the Assembly* had news from Massachusetts, that peace had taken place between the English and Dutch.

19. Southampton, Easthampton and Southold, on the East end of Long Island, who had been assisted by Connecticut against the attacks of the Dutch, desire to remain under their jurisdiction, and are allowed; and twenty Commissioners are appointed to keep a County Court among them.

22. The Court request Eliphalet Joanes to dispense the gospel to the people of Rye, once a fortnight, on the Lord's day, till their session in October, when they will make further provision.† He was presented for a freeman of Fairfield, May 13, 1669.

According to a petition of Wickford,‡ the Assembly order that government be settled there and other places where needed, and "throughout New London County and the Narragansett" territory, that the people there "might not live in dissolute practice, to the dishonor of God, of the king and nation, and to the scandalizing of the very heathen."

In this month, Zachariah Walker and his supporters move§ from Stratford and settle at Paumperaug, called Woodbury, and are released from rates four years, as they had been already two. Thus a quietus is given to the protracted troubles in the former town. He and Mr. Chauncy afterwards apologized to each other for faults in their controversy, and so far as brought to act in concert, they did it with brotherly affection.

September. Robert Fordham dies.|| He was the second minister of Southampton, under the jurisdiction of Connecticut and situated on Long Island. His wife's name was Elizabeth. He left several children, of whom was Jonah, minister awhile at Hempstead. "Traditions," as Thompson observes, "prove that he possessed an amiable disposition, a character unexceptionable, and in the discharge of his pastoral duties, gave general satisfaction."

September 15. Messrs. John Eliot and Daniel Gookin, on a visit to Indian settlements, under Christian instruction, reach one of two such places in Woodstock, then in Massachusetts, but subsequently in Connecticut. One of them had one hundred, and the other one hundred and fifty inhabitants. For the former, they appoint Daniel, a young man from Natick, as a minister. At the latter, Sampson, from Hassanamesitt, preached the gospel.¶ The visitors spent the greater part of the night at the Sagamore's wigwam, where some of the principal people assembled in prayer,

* Conn. Col. Rec. † Conn. Gen. Ct. Rec. ‡ Trumbull, vol. i. p. 341.

§ Conn. Col. Rec. Trumbull, vol. i. p. 490, 1. ¶ Thompson's L. I. vol. i. p. 337, 8. ¶ Gookin's Coll. Mass. Hist. Soc. Coll. 1 s. vol. i. p. 190, 2.

singing psalms and exhortation. A person present, who had said nothing, broke silence and remarked that he was a messenger from Uncas, sachem of Mohegan, who claimed jurisdiction over Wab-quissit, where they were, and who was "not well pleased that the English should pass over Mohegan river, to call his Indians to pray to God." Mr. Eliot replied that his duty was to preach the gospel wherever he had opportunity, especially to Indians; that he had no design to meddle with civil jurisdiction. Mr. Gookin observed that Massachusetts included the place, but had neither taxed the people, nor purposed to prevent the payment of tribute, which they might justly owe any sachem; and that their chief object was to have them taught in gospel doctrines, forsake their iniquities, and become the followers of Christ. On the 16th, as soon as the Indians assembled, Sampson read from the Bible, and then set a Psalm, which was sung. Mr. Eliot preached from Mat. vi. 33: "Seek first the kingdom of heaven, and the righteousness thereof, and all other things shall be added unto you." The services were closed with prayer.

Immediately after this, Mr. Gookin opened a court, confirmed Sampson as their teacher, and Black James as their constable, and exhorted them to be faithful in their offices. He addressed the people on the importance of obeying the gospel. He read a warrant for the constable to "suppress drunkenness, Sabbath-breaking, powowing and idolatry." Then Messrs. Eliot and Gookin left.

October 8. The General Court allow* Joshua, sachem of Nyantick, to buy two horses, one for himself and another for his interpreter, so that he may attend the meetings of Mr. Fitch.

A Committee of the Court are to try for an adjustment of difficulties between Samuel Wakeman and his people of Fairfield, and obtainment of a minister for Rye.

In the close of this year, James Rogers, of New London,† invited Mr. Crandal, a Seventh-day Baptist, to come from Westerly and preach, which he did, and baptized John and James, sons of the former, and Japheth, an Indian. Mr. Bradstreet, minister of Newport, used endeavors to counteract such a procedure.

31. Commissioned by the Duke of York as Governor of his territory bordering on Connecticut, and, by claim of his Patent, running upon it, Edmund Andros enters‡ on the duties of his office. Here was occasion of fear and dread lest the circumstances under which Andros became such a neighbor, would result, as they subsequently did, in very perilous difficulties.

November 20. Daniel Gookin introduces a letter from the Rev. James Fitch, Senior, to him,§ concerning missionary labors. The writer observes that the Indians of Connecticut and Long Island

* Conn. Col. Rec. † Backus, i. 475. ‡ Wood's Long Island, p. 98, 9.

§ Gookin's Coll. Mass. Hist. Soc. Coll. 1 s. vol. i. p. 208, 9.

1674.]

have no "inclination to hear the knowledge of God," and that Mr. Pierson formerly, after frequent trials, met with similar discouragement. He states, with regard to himself, that his first attempt to evangelize some of them was at Moheek, "where Uncas, his son, and Wanuhö, are sachems;" and that these chiefs attended on his instructions until they perceived that Christianity was something more than mere form, and required the surrender of their idols and tyrannical powers; and that they then became the violent persecutors of those among them who met to hear the teachings of Christianity. He further relates that notwithstanding such opposition, a few had waited on his ministrations, "about one year and a half," and that they had increased to above thirty adults; and that he had begun to teach their children.*

Samuel, son of Nicholas Street, H. C., 1664, who began to preach at Wallingford, 1674, is ordained here. He married Anna Miles, Nov. 3, 1664, and subsequently, Mardlin Daniels and Hannah Glover, by all of whom he had eleven children. In connection with the ordination of Mr. Street, Trumbull remarks:* "The Committee of New Haven for settling the Town of Wallingford, which was settled 1669, for the safety of the church obliged the undertakers and all the successive planters to subscribe the following engagement, viz.:"—"He or they shall not by any means disturb the church, when settled there, in their choice of minister or ministers or other church officers; or in any other church rights, liberties or administrations; nor shall withdraw due maintenance from such ministry."—"This shows how strongly the churches in this part of the Colony were at that time opposed to towns and parishes' having anything to do in the choice of a minister, or in any church affairs."†

* Gookin's Coll. Mass. His. Soc. Coll. 1 s. vol. iv. p. 208, 9.

† Rev. Dr. Dana's Centennial Sermon. Trumbull, vol. i. p. 521.

CHAPTER X.

MASSACHUSETTS. Nicholet Troubles. — Sausaman murdered. — College Difficulties. — Patent in Peril. — Papacy in England. — Publications. — Waban's Suspicion. — Oakes. — Election Sermon. — Prelatical Principles. — Witchcraft. — Philip begins Hostilities. — Artillery Election Sermon. — Baptists. — Christian Indians. — Quakers. — Captive Indians as Slaves. — Reformation. — Fast. — Praying Indians. — Public Sins. — Death of Hoar. — Andros. — Extent of Indian Conspiracy. — Eliot to Boyle. — Different Colonists. — Jesuits. — Designs of Philip. — Mary Rowlandson captured. — Military Power against Civil Power. — Renewal of Covenant. — Samuel Willard. — Samuel Nowell. — Edward Taylor. — Impression of Piety. — Peter Folger. — Hubbard's Election Sermon. — Prejudice against Christian Indians lessened. — Insanity. — The French help Hostile Indians. — William Turner. — Hope Atherton. — Women build a Fortification. — Enemy discouraged. — Women kill Two Indians. — Quakers. — Randolph. — Reply of Elders. — Christian Indians murdered. — Philip killed. — Losses in the War. — Address to the King. — Captives to be transported. — Randolph's Statement. — Account of Praying Indians. — Provisions from Ireland. — Publication. — Baptists. — Indian Preacher. — Christian Indians at the Vineyard. — Mohawks. — Irish Charity. — Mission. — Thomas Parker. — Sympathy for New England — John Fisk. — Settlement of Indian Children. — Tythingmen. — Andros's Rule of Nantucket. — Edmund Brown. — Committee in London for Harvard College. — Quakers. — Patent imperiled. — Letters. — Election Discourse. — Church Matters. — Indians. — History. — Mohawks. — Difficulty with the Crown. — Irregular Church. — Waban. — Boyle addressed. — Branch Church. — Thomas Shepard dies. — Papal Plot. — Question. — Regal Interrogatories. — Joseph Brown dies. — Captives. — Council. — Oath. — Address to the King. — Thomas Thacher dies. — Church Relation. — Publications. PLYMOUTH. Divorce. — Baptism. — Blackstone. — Sausamon. — Hicks. — Letters of Winslow. — Report on Hostilities. — Cudworth restored. — John Holmes and Thomas Tupper die. — Hospitality. — Right as to Indian land. — Renewal of Covenants. — General Governor. — Indian Captives. — Squaw Weetamore. — Philip. — His Son. — Quakers. — Irish Charity. — Witchcraft. — Election Sermon. — Toleration. — Violation of Sabbath. — Baptists. — Railing. — Temperance. — Support of Ministers. — Grammar School. — Death of Samuel Newman. — Quakers' Memorial. — Colony to help pay Salary of Ministers. — Oath of Fidelity. — Profanity. — Self-marriage. — Death of Nicholas Baker. — Baptism. — Thomas Thornton. MAINE. Gorges' Claim. — Court. — Plantation. — Catechism. — Indians sold. — Disaster. — Language to the King. — Mugg. — Peace. — Enemy. — False Accusation. — Andros. — Purchase of Maine. — St. Castine. NEW HAMPSHIRE. Indians to be shipped off. — Episcopalians. — Randolph rebuked. — Protection to the Colony. — Decision of Mason's Claim. — Peace. — Mis-statement, RHODE ISLAND.

1675.]

Philip's People. — Opposed to Christianity. — Hostilities. — Habbakuk Glover. — Quakers. — Defense. — John Clark dies. — Contributions. — Bearing Arms. — Captives sold. — Fox Controversy. — Trouble with Connecticut. — Market-day. — Arbitration. — Military Duty. — Reply of Court. — Coddington to Fox. — Samuel Gorton's Death. — Quakers. — Rogerenes imprisoned. — Divorce. — Smith's Petition. — Holden and Green's Communication. — Publication. CONNECTICUT. Rogers Family. — Renewal of Covenants. — Plantation. — Church granted. — Pequods. — Insurgents. — Andros resisted. — Fast. — Religion for Troops. — Thomas James. — Montauk Indians. — Negligent Families. — Indian Confederacy. — Chaplains. — Convention. — Army Rules. — Maquas. — Thanksgiving. — Gov. Winthrop dies. — Collections. — Fast. — Covenant. — Captives. — Saturday and Sunday Nights. — Irreligious Families. — Contributions. — Divorce. — Indians sold. — Irish Charity. — Mohawks. — Parish Taxes for Salary. — Election Sermon. — Schools. — Fast. — Missionaries for New York. — Noadiah Russell. — Law of Divorcement. — Families settled together. — Rogerenes. — Uncas. — Seventh-day Baptists. — Joseph Rowlandson dies.

MASSACHUSETTS.

1675. January 18. A letter from the Governor and Council is read to the Salem church.* It proposes to ask advice of churches concerning the difficulties occasioned by the continuance of Mr. Nicholet. Most of the brethren thought it best to comply. The church agreed on the 18th of February, as a day of humiliation, to seek divine guidance, when Messrs. Higginson and Nicholet performed the services.

February. "A report is come† as if John Sausaman was murdered. He was one of the Indian preachers, of excellent parts, and as Mr. Eliot thinks, a sincere convert."

13. There was a fast‡ at Samuel Moody's, of Newbury, principally on occasion of his sickness. Whereat were present Messrs. Woodbridge, Phillips, Moody, Remor and Richardson. "The three first seemed to be very sensible of the state of things, and of the plots of papists, atheists, etc."

February 19. Mr. Higginson excepts against the doctrine and practice of Mr. Nicholet, his colleague, who makes some explanation and concessions, which are accepted as satisfactory.

March 19. John Collins, of London,§ writes to Governor Levett. He mentions the different reports which have reached him as to President Hoar, of the College, and that he had chosen the medium of them as his opinion. He says: "My only concern in this business is to sympathize with the broken state of that once flourishing house, to beg God a revival of the work, and all else in which his glory is concerned, in the midst of the years, and to mourn over that disunited spirit amongst God's people, which

* Salem First Ch. Rec.

† Sewall's Diary.

‡ Increase Mather's Diary.

§ Hutchinson's Coll.

appears in this matter and all others." He again mentions, that a petition is before the King to buy Maine and New Hampshire for the Duke of Monmouth. He says that there had been a determination to send a Commissioner over to Massachusetts, backed "with some force," but the lack of money will hinder the project, as he thinks, for the next summer; that the King will send the authorities here a letter, requiring them to answer complaints. He remarks: "I fear that which is aimed at is to call your Patent to a strict account, upon what terms you hold it; you would do well to be in preparation for it, especially to make good your title to that part of your government." By the last clause the writer evidently means Maine and New Hampshire. He states that money, by way of presents, would help their cause at Court in London. He designates Major Robert Thomson, concerned in the East India Company, as having access there, and able to dispose of the money, in his hands, to the benefit of the Colony. He observes that he has been to Whitehall but twice in two years, and adds, "Persecution is pretty hot, and if it goes on I may expect a prison for my living in town." As to an invitation from Governor Leverett, to renew his abode in New England, he suggests that it is all uncertain. He relates that the King, through the persuasion of Bishops, had withdrawn his toleration, by licenses, from the non-conformists, "and together with hot persecution of the Papists, left us also a very troublesome persecution, wherein many are spoiled of their goods, several imprisoned; several returned upon 20/. a month into the exchequer, to their utter undoing. All things here threaten a storm a-coming upon us. Holland's condition yet distracted. The Protestants every where sufferers, and yet the Popish swords drawn one against another."

With regard to the Romanists of England, the life of Bishop Ilen has the ensuing passages, under the date of 1675. Charles II. would have conformed to Rome, "could he have dared. To save appearances, he was often compelled to proclaim severe penalties against Romanists; but they were negligently enforced. He had long been a pensioner of Louis XIV., to whom he had bound himself by secret Treaty, for the restoration of Popery in England. Whenever his personal necessities were most urgent, he applied to Louis for fresh advances, under plea that the interests of the Catholic Church required such aid." At the same time, a letter from Coleman, a Jesuit in London, to M. La Chaise, holds the subsequent language: "We have here a mighty work on our hands; no less than the conversion of three Kingdoms; and by that, perhaps, the subduing a pestilent heresy, which has domineered over part of this Northern world a long time. There were never such hopes of success, since the death of our Queen Mary, as now in our days, when God has given us a Prince, who is become zealous of being the author and instrument of so glorious a work."

1675.]

April 1. This is the date of a preface, by his son Cotton, to the discourse of Increase Mather, "concerning the subject of baptism, wherein the present controversies in New England are inquired into." He also published this year, with its preface, another discourse, dated May 1, 1671, entitled, "The first principles of New England concerning the subject of baptism and communion of churches." These productions show his strong belief in favor of the half-way Covenant, though at first he was among its strenuous opposers. In a postscript of the latter work is a suggestion of the Rev. John Allin, of Dedham, that it be published as a means of waking up attention to the children of the church, and to the deficiency of ecclesiastical consociation.

In the fore part of this month, Waban, the chief ruler among the praying Indians of Natick, came and told one of the magistrates, that he had reason to apprehend that Philip, Sachem of the Wampanoags, and others, his confederates, would again soon exhibit their resentments, and commence hostilities upon the English and Christian Indians. Such caution he and other praying Indians repeated a few weeks afterwards.

May 12. The Legislature observe* as to the election of Urian Oakes, as successor to Dr. Hoar, which took place on the day of the latter's resignation, that they declare their hearty consent and "earnestly desire his acceptance thereof, and continuance therein, that there may be a revival of that Society unto the glory of God, and the public weal of these churches so much concerned therein." The President of the College is allowed £100 a year for his services. Mr. Oakes, however, did not accept the Presidency, but agreed to superintend the College, which he did four years.

The Rev. Mr. Torrey is granted £5 for the charge of printing his Election sermon.

Deacon John Cooper and Mr. William Manning "are betruſted for the College work or edifice at Cambridge." The towns behind in payment of their subscriptions for this building, are desired to bring them in, and the towns which have not subscribed, should be stirred up to "so pious and necessary a work." For this object, letters are ordered for all the ministers.

The Rev. James Allen, teacher of the First church in Boston, is appointed to succeed his colleague, John Oxenbridge, as a licenser of the press.

The Court desire a copy of "the elaborate and seasonable discourse of the Rev. Joshua Moody," on Election day, for the press.

Petitions and remonstrances from the parties in Salem, one sustaining Mr. Higginson, and the other Mr. Nicholet, are considered, and a committee of Governor Leverett, Deputy Governor Symonds and others, chosen to visit that place and endeavor to reconcile differences.

* Mass. Gen. Ct. Rec.

Mr. Graves appears as deputy in General Court* from Charels-town, but they refuse to allow him a seat with them, because they suspect that he is "prelatical in his principles." He will not satisfy them on this point. His constituents petition for him, but in vain.

13. Arraigned before the Court of Assistants in Boston, on the charge of witchcraft,† Mary, the wife of Joseph Parsons, having been before the County Court, sitting at Northampton, is cleared by the Jury and discharged.

June 8. The Legislative Committee visit Salem.‡ Their report is dated the 10th. They regret the contention which existed. They declare the manner of calling and settling Mr. Nicholet, by a promiscuous vote of the town, very irregular and contrary to all known, wholesome laws of the Colony, and of a tendency dangerous to both church and state. They advise that the church and town observe a day of fasting and prayer, and settle their differences; that the ministry be carried on by Messrs. Higginson and Nicholet together; and that when another society shall be formed, it should be done with harmony. "At the same time the committee were in session, news came that Philip and the Indians had begun war with the English."

Thus Philip embarks in a contest of prospective extermination to the national relations either of himself and allies, or of his opponents. Of the chief inducements which led him and other Sachems to favor such a purpose, was their dread lest Christianity should spread through their territories and draw their own subjects over to English influence, and thus destroy their existence as heathen tribes.

It appears from the acknowledgment of Indians about Hadley, that from 1671 to 1674, Philip, who had previously broken his covenant with Plymouth, was exerting himself to unite all the Indians of such territory, to overthrow the English. The Narragansetts had engaged to supply four thousand men for this purpose. The project was not to commence the insurrection till the spring of 1676. But Philip prematurely began it by his causing the death of John Sausaman. Had we time, we might narrate the interesting, though very sad events of the warfare in particular detail, as collected. But the need of room and the nature of our subject, allow nothing more than general notices. The assault upon Rehoboth, on the 24th of June, immediately brought the forces of Massachusetts and Plymouth to the scene of carnage. By the 28th, they made their head-quarters at the house of Mr. Miles, the minister of Swanzeey. They sent a small detachment of horsemen across the bridge, who were immediately met with ambush volleys of shot. The next morning they drove the Indians to a swamp, whither Philip and the residents at Mount Hope sought refuge

* Inc. Mather's Diary.

† Ct. of Ass'ts Rec.

‡ Salem First Ch. Rec.

1675.]

when night came. These two skirmishes were attended with some loss of life on both sides.

While in this expedition, the praying Indians employed in it, behaved valiantly and faithfully. Thomas Quannapohutt, John Hunter and Felix, were rewarded by Governor Leverett for slaying four of the enemy, and Nesutan, a good linguist, who was of great help to Mr. Eliot in the translation of the Bible and other religious books, was killed in this campaign. These and other Indians, who had professed attachment to the gospel, were highly approved by their chief commander. Still, many of the English soldiers were suspicious of their fidelity and strongly prejudiced against them which operated unfavorably to such Christian natives.

10. John Richardson, of Newbury, preaches the Artillery Election sermon. The text was II Samuel i. 18,—and subject, “The necessity of a well experienced soldiery, or a Christian commonwealth ought to be well instructed in the military art.” The introduction says: “Wars are in the same nature with offenses; *necesse est ut veniant*, they must be, though there be a *ve inducenti*, a woe to him, that is the unjust cause of them.” The close remarks: “Though your present exercise be a matter of sport in a sense, yet it tends to solemn execution. You may be called to be in good earnest. Thou knowest not how soon orders may come from the Lord of hosts, for thy sudden march, and then there will be no time to get any skill to defend thyself. You are now, as it were, in garrison, but you may very quickly be in the field, perhaps in Aceldama, a field of blood, where you shall not want for an enemy, but find one; not one it may be, but many. You are most likely, having followed God’s order, to have his presence with you, and protection over you. He delights in those that are like himself.”

15. John Wilson, Sen., and John Wilson, Jr., and their wives, Henry Sumers and wife, Caleb Farlow and Hopestill Foster, are admonished by the Middlesex Court,* and required to pay costs. The following persons are fined from £1 to £5 and costs, by the same authority, for neglect of allowed worship on Fast, Thanksgiving and Sabbath days. Thomas Foster, John Russell, Sen., John Russell, Jr., Benanuel Bowers, Thomas Osborn and John Johnson. All these individuals were so dealt with, because they worshiped with the Baptist Society, now of Boston.

July. The Christian Indians of Punkapog brought before the Council at Boston several of the enemy, whom they had captured, and particularly a noted one, called Drummer, who lived near Taunton.

14. Governor Andros notifies the Vineyard and Nantucket,† as subject to his jurisdiction, that he has sent them match, muskets and powder, to help defend them against hostile Indians.

* Middlesex Ct. Rec.

† Easton’s Philip’s War, p. 57.

By this time, Christian Indians * from Massanamesitt, Magunkoag, Manchage (Oxford), and Chobonokum (Dudley), had joined others of their profession at Marlborough, so as to make forty men, besides women and children. These men built a fort near the meeting-house of the English residents, intending thereby to defend themselves and neighbors, as well as be under the protection of the latter. As an expression of their fidelity they took part in a scouting expedition, helped to capture seven strange Indians, who were supposed to be enemies, but were finally released.

15. As the Narragansetts, who had agreed to join in the revolt of Philip, and to whom this chief and his people had sent their women and children for protection, were surprised by his commencement of it sooner than they expected, they were unprepared to take the field in his behalf. The Colonies of Massachusetts and Connecticut purposed to keep them in check, as much as possible, by a new treaty.† Therefore the main part of the army at Mount Hope was marched into their country. Under the date given, a covenant is made between six of their Sachems and Thomas Savage, Edward Hutchinson and Joseph Dudley, for the Bay; Wait Winthrop and Richard Smith, for Connecticut. Plymouth, as a member of the Union, had part in this contract.

While the negotiation proceeded,‡ Potuche, the agent of the Narragansetts, endeavored that one condition of the English should be, that they abstain from sending any missionaries among them, "to preach the gospel or call on them to pray to God." But this proposition was decidedly rejected.

August 1. Hostilities were continued, and so carried on by the commanders of the English, of whom Benjamin Church gave prominent proofs of his extraordinary valor, that Philip and his forces feel compelled to retreat. Being the Sabbath, an alarm is given, that the Sachem and his followers are escaping. The Colonists who could be mustered from Rehoboth, led on by their minister, Mr. Newman, and the adjacent towns, with Mohegans, who had come to assist our forces, and Naticks, went in pursuit. They reached the fugitives at ten o'clock, forenoon, who lost about thirty of their number, with little loss to the pursuers, and took up their quarters with the Nipmucks in a swamp, about ten miles from Brookfield.§

The church of Salem agree to use the Bay Psalm Book|| six months on trial.

9. The following persons¶ are apprehended in Boston for holding a Quaker meeting. Robert Edmands, Edward Shippe, (Shippen,) John Soames, George Walker, Jeremiah Deble, George

* Gookin's Christian Indians. Am. Antiq. Soc. vol. ii. p. 443.

† Hubbard's Ind. Wars, p. 80-4.

‡ Gookin. Am. Antiq. Soc. vol. ii. p. 439.

§ Gookin's Hist. of Indians, p. 445, 6.

|| Salem Ch. Rec.

¶ Moses Brown's MS. Letter.

1675.]

Danson, Miles Foster, Thomas Scott, Humphrey Hodges, William Neal, Bridget Phillips, Ephraim Stratton, Elizabeth Bowers, Sen. and Jr. Of these fourteen, two paid their fines, and as the rest would not, they were whipped. A part of these and others were whipped for attending a similar meeting, which came next in course.

13. John Eliot offers a petition to the Governor and Council, a large part of it as follows: "The terror of selling away such Indians unto the Islands for perpetual slaves, who shall yield up themselves to mercy, is like to be an effectual prolongation of the war, and such an exasperation of them as may produce we know not what evil consequences upon the land. Christ hath said, Blessed are the merciful, for they shall obtain mercy. This usage of them is worse than death. The design of Christ in these last days, is not to extirpate nations, but to gospelize them. His sovereign hand and grace have brought the gospel into these dark places of the earth. When we came, we declared to the world and it is recorded, yea we are engaged by our letters patent from the King's Majesty, that the endeavor of the Indians' conversion, not their extirpation, was one great end of our enterprise, in coming to these ends of the earth. The Lord hath so succeeded that work, as that (by his grace) they have the Holy Scriptures and sundry of themselves able to teach their countrymen the good knowledge of God. And, however some of them have refused to receive the gospel and are now incensed in their spirits unto a war against the English, yet I doubt not but the meaning of Christ is to open a door for the free passage of the gospel among them. My humble request is that you would follow Christ's design in this matter, to promote the free passage of religion among them, and not to destroy them. To sell souls for money, seemeth to me a dangerous merchandize. To sell them away from all means of grace, when Christ hath provided means of grace for them, is the way for us to be active in the destroying of their souls."

28. The Governor and Council write to the like officers in Connecticut, desiring that they would send forward their troops to assist those under Major Pyncheon. They remark that their forces "have been under some humbling frowns of God, permitting the Indians there to wax proud and more insolent. How necessary in such a day, the common safety and interest of the people of God were by joint and united counsels considered of and carried an end." They then state that for such a purpose, Commissioners from Plymouth had been to Boston and waited for those of Connecticut, and would come again when they would meet them.

30. In consequence of the strong prejudice* which the generality of the Colonists had imbibed against the Christian Indians,

* Gookin's Christian Indians, p. 450-4.

because Philip and his allies were set upon the ruin of the former, the Governor and Council order all the friendly Indians in Massachusetts, who reside at Natick, Punquapog, Nashobah, Wamesit and Hassanamesitt, to confine themselves within one mile from the centre of their respective towns. All others who do not reside in such places, are required to take up their abode in some one of them. This injunction prevented the Christian Indians from hunting, looking after their cattle and swine, gathering their corn and laboring among the English, and thus subjected them to much suffering for lack of food. Two or three superintendents were ordered to live in every Indian town. Two only, however, fully complied with the order. They were John Watson, Sen.; and Henry Prentice, of Cambridge, who resided twelve weeks at Natick and spoke highly of the Indians there.

Instigated by persons who had no good will for the Christian Indians,* Capt. Samuel Mosely sent fifteen of the latter, the most of whom lived at Okonkomesitt, near Marlborough, and had faithfully served on the side of the English, pinioned and fastened with lines from neck to neck, under a guard of soldiers, down to Boston. Among these prisoners were Abraham Spene and John Choo, who belonged to Natick and were of excellent character. Such an act was done, through the false accusation of an Indian called David, who, to save his life when bound to be shot, charged eleven of the prisoners with murdering seven English people on the 22d of August, at Lancaster. At their trial, the prisoners proved that on this very day they were at worship the whole of the Sabbath, in their fort at Marlborough. Ten of them were acquitted. The other, James Spoonant, was tried by another jury, who brought him in as accessory to the murder, of whom Gookin remarked: "Upon what ground" they "went, I know not; but the man was sold for a slave, and sent out of the country." David, on suspicion of shooting an Irish boy at Marlborough and falsely accusing the Christian Indians who were cleared, was similarly sentenced. However the persons thus declared to be innocent, were entitled to their liberty, yet when it was known that the most of them were let out of prison by one or two at a time, in the night, there was much excitement. About forty persons collected in Boston, at nine o'clock in the evening, September 10, called on Captain James Oliver, and requested him to head them for the purpose of breaking open the prison and hanging one of the Indians, who remained there. But the Captain would listen to no such wish, and he drove the leaders of the mob from his house. This was one of the many instances in which Indians who had chosen the religion of the Colonists and were ready to hazard life for their defense, were unrighteously suspected and badly treated. With reference to this

* Gookin's Christian Indians, p. 456, 6.

1675.]

subject, Gookin observed: "But some that were more considerate, serious and pious, had their hearts exercised with tremblings in prayer all this time, lest the wind of temptations might blow so hard as to drive the judges and jurors upon the rock of bringing blood upon the land, which, blessed be God, was prevented in this matter."

The day previous to the seizure of the Indians at Marlborough, Lieut. Ruddock, of that place, took twenty-three guns and ammunition from them and their brethren. Thus he gave them plain intimation that they were accounted altogether unworthy of confidence.

September 1. Philip and his allies attack Deerfield,* burning seventeen of its dwellings, and kill James Eggleston. On the same day, being Sabbath, they appeared at Hadley while the people were at worship. The alarm being given, the assembly were in great consternation. At this juncture, a gentleman of venerable appearance was seen among them. He restored order, headed the men, drove the enemy from the town and disappeared. For a time, the people supposed that he was an angel sent from heaven for their deliverance. It was General Goffe. At that time he had a secret residence in Hadley. He, Whalley and Dixwell, fled hither to avoid death, believed that the execution of the late King's judges was *the slaying of the witnesses* in Revelation, and were much disappointed when 1666 passed without any remarkable occurrence, and they still hoped that there was some mistake in the chronology so as to allow their expectation.

9. The serious aspect of the war with the Indians, who opposed Christianity and its professors, called the Commissioners of the United Colonies together at Boston. They declare it "a defensive war, just and necessary." They order 1,000 men to be raised; 527 from Massachusetts, 158 from Plymouth, and 315 from Connecticut.

12. After this, a correspondent† from the West of Massachusetts writes to Increase Mather: "I desire you to speak to the Governor, that there may be thorough care for a reformation. I am sensible there are many difficulties therein. Many sins are grown so in fashion, that it becomes a question whether they be sins or no. I desire you would especially mention oppression; that intolerable pride in clothes and hair; the toleration of so many taverns, especially in Boston, and suffering home dwellers to be tipping in them. It would be a dreadful token of the displeasure of God, if these afflictions pass away without much spiritual advantage."

17. The Governor and Council,‡ in view of various considerations, as the "ill entertainment of the ministry of the precious

* Williams's Redeemed Captive. Stiles's Judges, 189. Gruhame's U. S. vol. i. p. 466. † Hazard, vol. ii. p. 535. ‡ In Mather's Ind. Wars, p. 11, 15.

gospel; the apostasy of many from the truth unto heresies and pernicious errors; great formality, inordinate affection, and sinful conformity to this present evil world. And (besides many scandalous sins breaking forth among us) our great insensibleness of the displeasure of the Lord in suffering these abominations to be perpetuated; together with our carnal security and unquietness under the judgments of God upon us,—we having greatly incensed him to stir up many adversaries against us, not only abroad, but also at our own door, causing the heathen in this wilderness to be a thorn in our sides,”—do—“being under the sense of these evils, and also the distressed state of the rest of the Colonies confederate with ourselves, and of the churches of Christ in other parts of the world in this day of trouble, rebukes and blasphemy; and fearing the sad issue thereof, unless the Lord help us with our whole heart, and not feignedly, to turn unto himself—appoint the seventh day of the next month to be a day of public humiliation, with fasting and prayer throughout this whole Colony.”

28. Governor Andros and Council, of New York, consider a letter brought by an express from Nantucket,* stating their weakness, and the great strength of the Indians there and on Martin's Vineyard; “not above forty men at the latter, and thirty on the former, capable of bearing arms. On Nantucket, the Indian men five or six hundred; not so many on Martin's Vineyard.” Andros and Council resolve to send each of the Islands a great gun—“and the Proclamation concerning the Indians, of keeping watches, erecting block-houses, etc.”

30. This week, somebody in the night-time erected a pillar over the Quakers' graves (who were hanged), under the gallows, and wrote: “Here lie the bodies of such and such, their souls triumphing in their blood, crying for vengeance.”†

Soon after November 3, Thomas Corwin and wife are taken from a place of meeting, (in Boston,) confined in the house of correction, and two days after are whipped, and the next day set at liberty. Besse‡ remarks that the people were so afflicted with the Indian war, they had no heart for further proceedings against these two Quakers. Next January 14, Robert Ford, of these people, nailed a note on the meeting-house doors of the same place, declaring that the ruin of it was at hand. July 8, a woman of them, dressed frightfully, came into the same place of worship and terrified several females into fits, one of whom died.§ On the 15th, a man went through the town, crying, Repent.

October 1. The Council had ordered Lieut. Thomas Henchman, of Chelmsford,|| to dispatch messengers to Wannalancet, Sachem of Naamhok, who, to avoid collision with the English, had retired,

* Nantucket Papers, p. 88, 9. † In Mather's Diary. ‡ Besse, vol. ii. p. 259.
§ Sewall's Diary. || Gookin's Christian Indians, p. 462, 3.

1675.]

about six weeks, with the remainder of his people, being one hundred, to the Pennicooks. Now, aware of the enemy's success at Sugar Hill; at Deerfield, September 1; at Northfield, over the forces under Capt. Beers; and then over those commanded by Capt. Lothrop, the Council sign a pass for this chief to meet Messrs. Eliot and Gookin at Lieut. Henchman's house. The Messengers could not meet him, and therefore they sent to him. But he well knew the jealousy of the English in general, relative to the Christian Indians, with whom he was worthily numbered; and hence he declined to comply, moved further off, and took his quarters about the head of the Connecticut, where was very good hunting.

While he and his company were at Pennicook, it was erroneously reported that a body of strange Indians had been discovered thereabouts. Captain Mosely and one hundred men went in pursuit. When this commander approached, Wannalancet and his people left their fort and retired to the woods and swamps. This Sachem had opportunity to have wounded and killed many of the English, and his young men were very desirous to do it, because the latter burnt their wigwams and destroyed their dried fish, but he suffered not a gun to be discharged. He had made a covenant to keep peace with Massachusetts, and he faithfully kept his pledge.

4. The Christian Indians, when retiring from Massanamesitt, Manchauge and Chabanakongkomam, as ordered, left a considerable quantity of corn, wigwams and other things, which are now mostly destroyed by some of the English soldiers, passing that way, though expressly ordered not to spoil such property.*

8. Among the charities disbursed at this period, the First church of Salem give £10 13s. to individuals of their own and other towns, who had suffered from hostile Indians.†

13. An account of all strangers,‡ not the King's subjects, who are in Boston, is required, and none of them to remain unless they give sufficient bonds for their fidelity. No master of a vessel shall be allowed to land strangers without similar security.

Articles of war are adopted. 1. "Let no man presume to blaspheme the holy and blessed Trinity, God the Father, God the Son, and God the Holy Ghost, upon pain to have his tongue bored with a hot iron." 2. Profanity shall incur the loss of pay and other punishment. 3. Absence from prayers and worship shall be at discretion, etc.§

The General Court sit. This session a committee of both houses is appointed for reformation of evils,|| the occasions of judgments. They desired the assistance of the Teaching Elders. They agree for suppression of proud excesses in apparel, hair, etc.; testimony against false worshipers, especially Quakers, "who set up a Christ

* Gookin's Chris. Indians, p. 462-7.

† Salem First Ch. Rec.

‡ Mass. Gen. Ct. Rec.

§ Ibid.

|| In Mather's Ind. Wars, p. 16.

whom the Scriptures know not." Excess in drinking increased by multiplied ordinaries, to keep town dwellers from these places. Swearing: "They that hear others swear profanely, and do not complain of it to authority, shall be punished for that concealment." 4th and 5th Commandments to be better observed. Oppression by merchants and day laborers to be rectified. "Indian trading houses, whereby the heathen have been debauched and scandalized against religion, be suppressed." More care of the rising generation as to their discipline in Christ. "Unanimously consented to." On the 19th, conclusions of the committee were signed and delivered to the General Court, who accepted them, and appointed another committee to draw up laws for promoting the reformation.

As there was great danger of famine, by reason of the war, all sorts of provision* are forbidden to be exported, except "fish and mackerel."

Major Clark is to strengthen Mendon garrison by ten more men. The Christian Indians of Punkapoag have leave to move their provisions and stuff to a place near Braintree and Milton.† As they had nearly finished a good fort, "accommodated for scouting and securing of the southern passages and inlets upon our Plantations," sixteen or twenty soldiers, from Braintree, Milton and Dorchester, are ordered to reinforce them, and scout with them between Weymouth and Natick, to prevent the approach of the enemy, or strange Indians, and give notice thereof.

A committee of the General Court are to examine‡ three Indians who had left Natick, and now reside with Henry Leland, and are suspected of ill designs. All the Natick Indians are required to live on Deer Island for the present. Gookin supplies us with various particulars on this subject.§ The Deputies were strongly solicited by their constituents to remove all the Christian Indians from their settlements. A bill was introduced for this object. But it was laid aside, because they knew of no location which would do. Such a demur, however, stirred up the spirit that prevailed against the friendly Indians so much, that the bill was brought forward again. A committee of both houses deliberated on its propositions. A paper was laid before them, assigning reasons, as that such Indians had been under the patronage of the Missionary Society in England; had made much advancement in letters and religion; had made a covenant with the Colony, which promised them protection; had proved themselves faithful, though others were perfidious; some had lost their limbs and lives in fighting the enemy. Still the committee said, that they must report so as to satisfy the popular clamor, though they did it for the safety of the Indians as well as of the English. They handed in their result, that the Indians

* Mass. Col. Rec.

† Ibid.

‡ Mass. Gen. Ct. Rec.

§ Gookin's Christian Indians, p. 467-75.

1675.]

of Natick should move to Cambridge neck; of Wamesit to Noddle's Island; of Nashobah to Concord; of Hassanamesitt, Magunkog and Marlborough to Mendon; and of Punkapoag to Dorchester neck. But as the inhabitants of these places refused to have such Indians live there, the Court took a different course. On the 18th of October, John Watson, of Cambridge, one of the guardians for the Natick Indians, presented their petition to the Court, wherein they beseech this body not to "harbor any jealous or harsh thoughts of them, or hearken to any false information against them; not to fetch them off from their dwellings, which would expose them, especially the aged and weak, to very much sorrow and misery, both for want of food and apparel, especially considering that the winter was approaching. But rather, if the Court pleased, they would deliver some of their principal men for hostages for their fidelity, professing their innocence and integrity both to the interest of God and the English."

18. "If any shall negligently lose, or sinfully play away their arms at dice, or cards, or otherwise, they shall be kept as pioneers or scavengers till they furnish themselves with as good arms.

19. The enemy killed five of a scout from Hadley, numbering ten.* They took the others prisoners, of whom was John Warner. He related that two days after, they put to death one of his fellow captives, as follows. They drove a stake through one of his feet, and so fastened him to the earth; burnt his nails and his feet against a fire; opened his body below the breast, pulled out his entrails, and cut off his head. They threatened to treat him and "his comrad" in the same manner. Warner related that he was made to number the army of Indians assembled at Oasmuck, and who fought for Philip, and counted 2,100 fighting men; none above forty years old, of whom were about 600 French Indians. These boasted that in the spring they would destroy Connecticut, then Boston, and then the Dutch.

On the 19th a detachment of troopers under Cornet Oakes were dispatched by the Court to fetch down some of Wamesit and Pakemitt, because they were suspected of burning the hay stack of Lt. James Richardson, of Chelmsford, the day before. But the Indians, so accused, were subsequently cleared.† On the 20th, Joseph Cook, of Cambridge, related to the Court, that these distressed natives were on their way down; numbered 145 men, women and children; part of them old and decrepid, naked, and needed food. The Court requested Mr. Cook to have them all sent back, except the able men, being about thirty-three. The Christian Indians of Punkapoag were guarded down to Dorchester from their fort by a troop under Capt. Brattle. The Court having heard William Ahaton and others of their chief men, let them all

* John Easton's Philip's War.

† Gookin's Chr. Indians, p. 467-75.

go back except three or four men, who were suspected. The Wamesit men, after being secured in the town house of Charles-town several days, were examined by the Court, and the most of them permitted to go home.

On the 26th, an old house, not worth 10s., as Gookin states, was burnt in Dedham. He says that "in all probability," it "was set on fire on purpose by some back friends" to the Indians of Natick, and so that they might be ejected from their settlement. Consequently much excitement was created against them, and "the contrivance obtained that which it was desired for, viz., the passing an order by General Court forthwith to remove them from their place unto Deer Island." A party of horse, under Capt. Prentice, guarded them down to the pines on Charles river, "about two miles above Cambridge." Here boats were ready to carry them, being two hundred, down to the Island.

A family of twelve persons, whose head was old Jethro, who moved to Natick after the war, but had not joined the praying Indians, ran away in the night and joined the enemy. Before the afflicted Naticks embarked, Mr. Eliot, their long-trying and faithful adviser, comforted them with the consolations of the Gospel, and exhorted them to remain steadfast in their Christian profession. At midnight of the 30th, they left for their destination, fearing lest they should be sent out of the country, and no more behold the homes and the sanctuary in which they professed themselves the friends of Christianity.

Three Indians, brought down with the Wameists, who had no sympathy for them in their religious profession, and who had gone to live in their settlement after the war began, were condemned and sentenced to be sold as slaves out of the country. One of these was Will Hawkins, a Narraganset Indian, who had worked about Salem. The innocent ones, on their way home, had a young man, the son of pious parents, shot by an English soldier, on parade, at Woburn. The person who committed this deed was tried for his life, but cleared by the jury.

21. A day of thanksgiving is observed at Concord* for the remarkable preservation of Capt. Thomas Wheeler and his men, who had returned from very perilous battles with a large body of Indians near and at Brookfield. Their minister, Mr. Bulkley, preached from Psalm cxvi. 12. "What shall I render to the Lord for all his benefits towards me." They have always made the bravest and best soldiers, who most successfully battled against their spiritual foes of shame for the cause of God and forgetfulness of his mercies.

November. Gookin informs us† that "about the beginning" of this month news reached Boston that fifty men, one hundred

* Shattuck's Hist. of Concord, p. 49, 50. † Gookin's Chr. Ind. p. 475-7.

1675.]

and fifty women and children of the Christian Indians, while putting up their harvest of corn at Hassanamesitt, had been taken and carried away by the enemy. The account was brought by two of the principal persons among those, so captured, named James Speen and Job Kattenanit. These related that they, several squaws and some children, being at a distance from the rest, had an opportunity to escape. Among the prisoners was Captain Tom, or Wuttasacomponom, a ruler over them, and Joseph Tuckappawill, their minister. The author just quoted observes: "This providence was a very deep wound to the work of gospelizing the Indians, for this people were considerable for number, as before hinted, being the greatest part of three Indian villages, viz., Hassanamesitt, Magunkog, and Chobone-Konhononim." Detachments of English were dispatched after the enemy, who made such inroad, but without effect.

3. The Colonial Treasurer is instructed to provide for the Christian Indians on Deer Island, and to appoint some person to visit them when proper, for such a purpose.

The General Court begin their session.* They consider sins for which God hath, they observe, "given commission to the barbarous heathen to become a smart rod and severe scourge to us in burning and depopulating several hopeful plantations and murdering many of our people." They state that there has been too much neglect in watching and catechising children of the church. They recommend to the elders and churches of the jurisdiction a reformation in this respect. As an instance how this was immediately complied with, Mr. Higginson, of Salem, proposed that he would catechise the children of his congregation every second week, on the 5th and 6th days, as formerly. They mention pride, manifested in men's wearing long hair and periwigs, and in women's "wearing borders of hair, and their cutting, curling and immodest laying out their hair," as needing correction. They call on County officers to execute the law against excess in apparel. They order the assemblies of Quakers to be suppressed, and the law forbidding their introduction into the Colony to be more strictly enforced. They order that no one turn his back "upon the public worship before it is finished and the blessing pronounced. Youth are to be watched over in the meeting-house." The acts against profanity, violations of the fifth command, idleness, fraud and parties of dissipation, are to be vigorously put in force.

Persons driven from their homes by the enemy to other towns for refuge are not to be considered as residents in these places, and, if poor, shall be supported by the Colony, and the Selectmen, where they are, must see that they are employed, so as to save expense.

* Mass. Col. Records.

The Court say that for weighty reasons, they had placed Indians on different Islands, "for our and their security." They forbid them to leave their places on pain of death, and the English, if meeting them as stragglers, are authorized to slay them. If Englishmen steal any of these Indians and carry them off, they shall be punished for man-stealing, as the law requires.

12. Commissioners commend to the several General Courts of their jurisdiction, to keep the second of December* "as a solemn day of prayer and humiliation, to supplicate the Lord's pardoning mercy and compassion towards his poor people, and for success in our endeavors for the repelling the rage of the enemy. They further commend to several General Courts, that effectual care be taken, that the soldiers sent on this expedition be men of strength, courage and activity, their arms well fixed and fit for service; that their clothing be, in all respects, strong and warm, suitable for the season; that they have provisions in their knapsacks for a week's march from their rendezvous, and supply in a magazine for a more general service; also, that there be a meet number of able ministers and chirurgeons provided and appointed for the expedition."

13. Of the Christian Indians, Job Kattenanit, who had been a preacher at Magunkog, receives a pass from General Gookin to visit the enemy,† and endeavor to regain his children, carried away from Hassanamesitt. A scout of Captain Henchman's company met him near that place, and brought him to their commander, who sent him to Boston, where, to still the popular clamor, he was imprisoned three weeks and then put on Deer Island. Gookin was reproached by many for granting the pass.

15. The Wamesit Indians, still adhering to gospel order, fall into another affliction through the act of their adversaries. They were under the supervision of Lieut. James Richardson, two miles from Chelmsford. A barn, full of hay and corn, belonging to their guardian, was consumed by some Indians of the enemy, who were thus continually planning to bring the Christian Indians into suspicion with the English. Fourteen men of Chelmsford, under pretence of scouting to discover Philip's forces, went to kill all the Wamesits. They called them out of their wigwams, and most of them, men, women and children, complied, not thinking harm was intended. Two of the Englishmen discharged their pieces, and wounded five women and children, and killed a boy. Of the wounded was Sarah, a respectable, pious widow, and mother of the lad who was slain. The rest of the aggressors were restrained

* Hazard, vol. ii. p. 537, 8.

† Gookin's Chr. Indians, p. 480-2.

NOTE.—1675. Nov. 24. As a matter of anxiety to our people in their various concerns, a proclamation is issued in London which forbids merchandise of Europe to be imported into the Plantations, unless they are laden in England, and which orders the laws of plantation trade to be enforced.—*Salmon's Chron.* vol. i. p. 205.

1675.]

from their murderous purpose. Such an outrage was severely condemned, especially by magistrates and ministers. The murderers were tried for their lives, but the juries did not agree to bring them in guilty. Perceiving that, let them be ever so careful or ever so faithful to the English, they were continually in peril of destruction, the Wamesits left their residence and carried but little with them. They would rather run the hazard of hunger, cold and starvation, than live as they had done. When the Council were informed of their flight, they ordered Lt. Thomas Henschman, of Chelmsford, to seek and persuade them to return. But they would not. John Lyne and Numphow, the rulers of the Wamesits, wrote a kind letter. In this they said that they were following Wanalancet, who had gone to the French. They acknowledged the protection of the Council, but it did not keep them from injuries inflicted by evil-minded Englishmen. When harm was done in their neighborhood, it was laid to them, however innocent. If they should go to Deer Island, the English might come and kill them there, as they had done at Wamesit. They add, "We are sorry the English have driven us from praying to God, and from our teacher."* What oppressive wrong, inflicted on weak and unoffending natives, seeking after heavenly wisdom!

When these poor Indians had been gone twenty-three days, and suffered greatly for want of food, the most of them returned to their wigwams. Lieut. Henschman immediately sent word to the Council, and they instructed him to treat them kindly, and also appointed Majors Gookin and Willard, and Rev. John Eliot, to visit and encourage them, and persuade the Chelmsford people to treat them better. The same committee were empowered to do a like service for the Nashobah Christian Indians, residing at Concord.

On the return of the Wamesits, the Rev. Thomas Clark, of Chelmsford, asked their teacher, Symon Beckom, what they did while absent. He replied, "We kept three Sabbaths in the woods; the first Sabbath," said he, "I read and taught the people out of Psalm 35; the second Sabbath, from Psalm 46; the third, out of Psalm 118." These were passages of sacred writ, pertinent to the sorrows of the speaker and hearers. Their penitent worship in the wilderness, amid hunger, cold, perils and distress, was no less acceptable to the Father of mercies, than that of a courtly audience in the most splendid cathedral.†

28. Leonard Hoar, late President of Harvard College,‡ dies at Braintree, aged forty-five years. He graduated at the same Institution, 1650; went to England, 1653; and received a doctorate of medicine at the University of Cambridge. He became minister at Winsted, Sussex, and was ejected for non-conformity in 1662.

* Gookin's Christian Indians, p. 480.

† Ibid. 485.

‡ Calamy, vol. i. p. 525. Magnalia, 3 ed. vol. ii. p. 14, 5.

Being invited to visit Boston, by the Old South Church, he came 1672, and in September, was inducted into the office of President. While respected for his scholarship and piety, he deemed it best to vacate his place, which he did fifteenth of March, 1675. In England he married a daughter of Lord Lisle, who survived him and married Hezekiah Usher, of Boston, and died May 25, 1723. He left two daughters, Bridget and Tryphena. Cotton Mather says of him, "He was truly a worthy man." Though he had troubles, Christian principles were his support and guide to perfect rest.

December 2. A day of prayer and humiliation* is observed for success of the New England forces against the Narragansetts, whose treachery towards our fathers had been fully discovered. Increase Mather says: "The churches were all upon their knees before the Lord, the God of armies, intreating his favor and gracious success in that undertaking, wherein the welfare of his people was so greatly concerned."

10. Andros writes† to the Governor of Maryland: "Indians at the eastward, so great success in Massachusetts and Plymouth Colonies, having engaged all others the neighbors, and endeavoring by all means of command and profit to engage the Maques, and sent to all other parts as far as Canada, which New England think do supply their said enemies, and all our Indians as far as Delaware, thought only to wait opportunities. There only remains firm the Maques; and by their means the Sinnckes, which as seated are most able to good or harm, and too far and particularly the Sinnekes, if they fall off to be force. I here send you an abstract of a letter sent from the Commander at Albany, relating to some particulars, (writte by y^e Jesuite among the Maques,) by which you may see his sense."

13. The committee designated to visit the Christian Indians‡ at Wamesit, attend to this work of mercy. They also sent for eighteen more of these people, who were afraid to come back, and staid about Pennagog. Among these was the afflicted widow who was wounded, and whose son was barbarously murdered. The message was obeyed, and the community of natives, professing the religion of Christ, were once more united, with stronger pledges from the head authorities, that their rights should be protected. The committee proceeded to Concord and placed the Christian Indians of Nashobah under the inspection of Mr. John Hoar, who duly sympathized with them in their anxieties.

17. A communication from John Eliot to Robert Boyle,§ President of the Missionary Corporation, furnishes the following extracts:

"I must change my ditty now. I have much to write of

* Inc. Mather's Ind. Wars, p. 19.

† Gookin's Christian Indians, p. 484.

Watling Street, London.

‡ Easton's Philip's War, p. 124.

§ Boyle at the Golden Key, in

1675.]

lamentation over the work of Christ among our praying Indians. As yet it is (as it were) dead, but not buried, nor, I believe, shall be. My care and labor is, to exhort them to humiliation and repentance, to be patient and meek in the sight of both God and man. Here be three hundred and fifty souls or thereabouts, put upon a bleak island, the fittest we have, where they suffer hunger and cold. Our rulers are careful to order them food, but it is hard to be performed, that they suffer much. I cannot without difficulty, hardship and peril get unto them. I have been yet but twice with them. Yet I praise God that they be put out of the way of greater perils, dangers and temptations. Captain Gookin and I did this week visit another company (where be fifty-nine souls) at Concord, whom we have ordered in as much safety as the difficulty of the times would permit us; and so we commit them to God, begging his protection over them. From thence, we went to Pawtucket, to visit the poor Wamesit Indians, who in a fright fled into the woods until they were half starved. They are come back again. There be more than one hundred souls of them. At another place there were a company making ready to go to the island, but were surprised by the enemy and carried away captive. There were more than one hundred, and sundry of them right godly, both men and women.

"Another great company of our new praying Indians of Nipmuck fled at the beginning of the wars, first to Connecticut, offered themselves to Mr. Pynchon, one of our magistrates, but he (though willing) could not receive them. They fled from thence to Uncas, who is not in hostility against the English, and I hope they be there. This is the present state of the most of our praying Indians in our jurisdiction. All in Plymouth Patent are still in quiet, and so are all our Vineyard Indians and all the Nantucket Indians. I beg prayers that they may be still preserved."*

19. After several skirmishes of our troops, while concentrating to the point of their intended attack at Narragansett, they commence this work upon the fortification of the enemy, who had strongly entrenched themselves in a swamp, fifteen miles from Petaquamscoot. Having been engaged in a severe battle of three hours, and repulsed once, the English gained the mastery, burnt about five hundred wigwams, in which many Indian women and children perished. They lost eighty-five, killed and died of their wounds, and had one hundred and forty-five others wounded; while of the enemy, one thousand men were computed to have perished. Though our fathers were thankful to God for the victory, as an encouragement that they might hope to secure their colonial existence, yet they felt that it was dearly purchased, and taught them that much was to be endured before they could rest from the contest of Christianity with heathenism.

* Birch's Life of Boyle.

In the orders of Josiah Winslow, as chief commander in the expedition against the Narragansetts, are the subsequent passages. "This trust is committed to you for the honor of God, the good of his people, and the security of the interest of Christ in his churches." After instructing him to prevent profanity, they proceed: "See that the worship of God be kept up in the army, by daily prayer and invocation of his name, and preaching his word as you have opportunity, and the Sabbath be not profaned."

21. A question came up among the Quakers of Salem,* about wearing the hat in time of prayer. The majority of them decided it in the negative.

The latter end of this month,† Messrs. Gookin, Eliot and other friends to the Christian Indians, visit those on Deer Island. The number of such Indians at this time were about five hundred, who had been enlarged by the Punkapoag community. Gookin observes: "The enmity, jealousy, and clamors of some people against them, put the magistracy upon a kind of necessity to send them all to the Island; and although it was a great suffering to the Indians to live there, yet God brought forth this good by it: first, their preservation from the fury of the people; secondly, the humbling and bettering the Indians by this sore affliction. I may say, in the words of truth, there appeared among them much practical Christianity."

21. William Gilbert writes from Boston to his grandfather and grandmother in England. Though news had not come from camp when he wrote, yet it probably came before the close of the day. "Never worse days in New England by reason of the multitude of Indians, which have been lately our neighbors and friends, are risen up against us, and they have burnt many towns and killed about three hundred persons, and used them in a most inhuman manner, they lying in swamps and woods, where there is no coming at them, and now notwithstanding the sharpness of the season, we have sent forth an army of about twelve hundred against them up about sixty miles into the country, and about two days ago post came from the army how that they had killed and taken sixty-five prisoners, and the Indians have killed twenty-four English, and taken a half barrel of powder. But the main body of the Indians is got into a great swamp, and 'tis judged that they will stand a fair battle. 'Tis judged there is about three thousand of them armed. The Lord grant good news from the army. Otherwise we shall have sad times here next summer, inasmuch that 'tis judged, that there will be a famine amongst us, if God is not more merciful to us. People are driven from their habitations, so that they cannot plant their corn."

25. Thomas Danforth writes from Boston, in the name of the Commissioners, to the Council of Connecticut,‡ to make further

* Friends' MS. Records.

† Gookin's Chr. Indians, p. 485, 6.

‡ Conn. Col. Records.

1675.]

exertions for suppressing the enemy. They remark: "You will see what we have been necessitated to conclude upon, in prosecution of what by Divine Providence we are so deeply engaged in." On the 28th they say, in another communication: "We had a deep sense of the necessity, that the present opportunity for the subduing of the enemy be vigorously prosecuted, they being now united into one body; for that, if through any neglect or slackness on our part, they have again the benefit of the warm spring to scatter, we may fear that the event thereof will be that the lives and habitations of multitudes of the English must go for their lives. We are not ignorant of the great difficulty and hardship of the undertaking; but yet, if God calls us therein to wait on him, it will be of wisdom as well as duty, with cheerfulness and humility, to submit to his good pleasure." In the margin they observe: "The Council of Massachusetts have sent two Natick Indians as spies to the Narragansetts. Their signs for their security, are the laying down their arms,* (if they have any,) spreading their hands, and opening their breasts."

30. According to the pressing request of the Council, two of these Indians had been engaged by Major Gookin to visit the enemy at their different quarters, and obtain knowledge of their plans. Though their reward was but five pounds a-piece, they agreed to adventure their lives in so perilous an enterprise, and accordingly, before day, they set out on their journey.†

Increase Mather remarks as follows: "It is easy to observe, from the history of these troubles,‡ that whereas there have been two sorts of men designing settlement in this part of America; some that came hither on account of trade, and worldly interests, by whom the Indians have been scandalized;—others that came hither on a religious and conscientious account, having in their eye the conversion of the heathen unto Christ; the former have been attended with blasting, ruinous providences; these latter have been signally owned by the Lord Jesus, for the like hath been rarely known in the world, that a plantation should be raised out of nothing, and brought to such considerableness in so short a time; whereas in the close of the last century, there was not so much as one Christian in the land, there are now above fourscore English and six Indian churches therein, besides many other congregations calling upon the name of the true God in Jesus Christ, although as yet not brought into church estate, according to the order of the gospel."

Randolph replies to questions.§ A reason assigned for the Indian war is, that the authorities of Massachusetts are so strict in their requisitions for the natives to embrace Christianity. Some believe

* Conn. Col. Rec.

† Inc. Mather's Ind. Troubles.

† Gookin's Chr. Indians, p. 487.

§ London Plantation Office MS.

that Jesuit priests have been among them and stirred them up against the English.

1676. January 14. A letter from Massachusetts, laid before the Council of Connecticut,* refers to the late battle: "The success of our united forces in the Narragansett country, in which enterprise, though it hath pleased God to humble us, by translating to rest out of the bed of honor in the service of Christ, several worthy and valiant commanders and soldiers, both ours and yours, yet doubtless we have cause (according to our best intelligence) to acknowledge to God's praise, that he hath made use of our army as executioners of his justice upon many of our barbarous and cruel enemies."

24. James Quannaphit, one of the spies, returned from among Philip's adherents.† He related that this sachem and his soldiers had their quarters near Fort Albany, and the Nipmucks and others about Menumese; that in the spring they intended to push the war vigorously, and burn and desolate the English towns. He stated that they were acquainted with the battle between the English and Narragansetts, and were glad that the latter would now openly espouse their cause; that they anticipated much success, and expected a supply of arms and ammunition from the French, through the hunting Indians. He gave information of their purpose to make speedy attacks on several frontier towns. He said that Joseph Tuhpawillin, the minister of Hassenasit (Hassanamesitt) a prisoner among the enemy, told him that Philip had ordered his men to capture the most valiant of the Christian Indians, so that he might put them to some cruel death.

February 5. About this date the praying Indians at Wamesit, near Chelmsford, petitioned the Council, through one of their guardians, Jerathmel Bowers, that they might be removed to a safer place; that they feared the enemy would come and commit depredations, so that the fault might be laid to them, and thus bring on them unjust retribution. The Council replied that they would attend to the request. In the meanwhile, some imprudent English threatened them. They ran away towards Pennahoog, (Pennacook,) except six or seven aged, blind and lame individuals, who were secretly burnt to death in a wigwam. Those who fled joined Wannalancet, and suffered much from famine and sickness. Their ruler, Numphow, and their teacher, Mystic George, died, besides others, men, women and children.

10. Among the captives taken at Lancaster are Mary, the wife of John Rowlandson, minister of that place,‡ and several of their children. He was then at Boston, soliciting the Council for additional protection to his people. On the 21st he was chosen chap-

* Conn. Col. Rec.

† Gookin's Chr. Indians, p. 487-91.

‡ Hubbard's Indian Wars, p. 146, 6.

1676.]

lain of the forces, but anxious and occupied for the recovery of his family, he declined, and Samuel Noble was elected for the office. As well known, Mrs. Rowlandson published a narrative of her intense sufferings after being redeemed by a gentlewoman and Mr. Usher, of Boston, and returned to her husband on the third of next May. While she was striving to obtain her freedom, she had occasion to call on Philip several times, who kindly encouraged her exertions.

21. An instance of military power being used to counteract civil authority, occurs with reference to the Christian Indians* of Nashobah, under the care of John Hoar, at Concord. Some of the inhabitants here had imbibed the prejudice generally prevailing against all who bore the color and name of Indian, as though they were entirely ready to take part with Philip for the extermination of the English. They encouraged a captain, quartered in the neighborhood, and supposed to have been Scyll,* to send the Nashobahs down to Boston. He quickly seconded their purpose. After a day or two's parleying with Mr. Hoar, who refused compliance, unless he brought an order from the Colonial Council, he finally had the house where the Indians kept, broken open, and its inmates carried under a guard to Charlestown. The Captain wrote to the General Court, then in session, an account of his proceedings. The Council, in conference with the Deputies, expressed their dissatisfaction at this great irregularity in setting up a military power in opposition to the chief authority of the country, declaring of what evil consequences such a precedent was; instanced the evil effects of like practices in England in later times, urging that due testimony might be borne against the same by the whole Court. But they were mortified and grieved to perceive, that however the House assented to their statement, they deemed it best to delay action. The poor Indians, who had placed themselves under protection of the English, found their confidence abused. Being about fifty-eight, they were sent down to Deer Island, where they suffered severely.

The Captain here referred to was probably Capt. Joseph Scyll, then quartered with his company at Lancaster. If so, though the Deputies may not at first have complied with the wish of the Council, for punishing him because he assumed excessive power, they may have waited till the next October, when they united with the magistrates in ordering him to resign his captaincy for such conduct.

* Shattuck's Hist. of Concord, p. 52-4.

NOTE.—1675-6. Feb. 11. On complaint of a Dutch ambassador, that the forts of Penatsep and St. John, in New France, belonging to the French, and recently taken by a vessel of his nation, had been re-captured by a force from Boston, the English Council order that Massachusetts rulers be addressed on this subject.—*Orders in Council.*

21. John Curtis, of Roxbury, as the guide of troops going forth to Quabog, their head-quarters, is authorized to employ six Christian Indians at the Island for his assistants. Curtis accordingly* selected James Quannapohit, Job Hattenanit, James Speen, Andrew Pitimee, John Magus and William Nahaton. These were principal men, glad of an opportunity to show their fidelity to the English, and to serve under Major Thomas Savage, with whom some of them were, in the first of the war, at Mount Hope.

In this session there were several motions† concerning "the poor Christian Indians at Deer Island." Some proposed that they should be destroyed; others, that they should be sent out of the country; but the majority, that they should be treated kindly, according to a covenant, made 1644, between the Colony and their tribes.

March 1. Near this date, Joseph Tuckapawillin, who had been minister of the Indian church at Hassanamesitt, his wife, child, father and several others of his people, having escaped from the enemy, are taken by a detachment of the English and brought into Marlborough. Among the articles found with the preacher, and seized by the troops, was a pewter cup, which was presented to him by Mr. Eliot, and which he used at the administration of the Lord's Supper. No doubt this vessel, surrounded with sacred associations of his spiritual Teacher, heavenly Redeemer, and solemn communions, was more to him than golden goblets to the proprietor of a princely mansion. Some of the people of Marlborough were prejudiced against all Indians, because of barbarities committed by the followers of Philip.

Soon after this, Joseph and his father, Naos, with several children, were sent to Deer Island. In two months his wife was restored to him, but his beloved son perished with famine.

4. The following is Governor Andros's order to Lieut. Teunise,‡ to demand Christian prisoners of the Indians. "Go as far as Connecticut River, and 'find out Philip or other northern Indians; let him or other sachems or commanders in chief know,' that I have sent you to demand of them the Christian prisoners, whom you brought into our parts, and 'forewarn them from or returning into any part of the Government.' If they are scattered into parties, you are to visit each party and demand such prisoners."

9. Thomas Thacher, James Allen and Increase Mather, at the suggestion of ministers who attend the Lecture in Boston, propose to Messrs. Samuel Phillips, Cobbet, Hobart and Gerrish, of Essex County, that the churches renew covenant with God and seek his face for the pardon of prevailing sins and the removal of judgments.

13. A chief of the Indians, who destroyed Groton, called to

* Gookin's Christian Indians, p. 497-501.

† Ibid. 501-2.

‡ Easton's Philip's War, p. 148, 9.

1676.]

Capt. Parker,* in one of the fortified houses, conversed about peace, but threw out severe taunts "at their praying and worshipping God in the meeting-house, which he deridingly said he had burned."

Among the sufferers of Groton† at this date, when the town was burnt by Indians, was Samuel Willard. He was son to Major Simon Willard, of Concord; born, January 31, 1640; graduated at Harvard College, 1659; ordained, July 13, 1664, when his church was organized, though his salary began July 1, of the preceding year; married Abigail, daughter of Rev. Mr. Sherman, of Watertown, next month, August 8; her mother being grand-daughter of Thomas Darcy, Earl of Rivers. Called to preach at the Third church of Boston, (Old South,) he was installed April 10, 1678, as colleague with Mr. Thacher.

26. Rev. Samuel Nowell, chaplain of the army, and whom Gookin styles "minister of God's word at Boston," writes home.‡ "I look at it as a great rebuke of God, that we should miss our enemy as we did, when we were at Menumesse. If we had hearkened to those six Indians, whom we took from Deer Island, we might have prevented that error. They have behaved themselves like sober, honest men, since their abode with us."

April 5. A letter from Edward Taylor,§ minister, and others of Westfield, to the Council of Connecticut, states their distressed condition from great sickness among their people and exposure to the enemy; that they had concluded to draw in their out garrisons, and have such defenses near together; that the Bay Authorities had advised them to leave their settlement and go to Springfield, which they could not do on account of their sick, and it did not meet their wishes. They ask if they should be assisted in removing down to Connecticut, if health be restored to them. The Council replied in a sympathizing manner, but declined to draw them from Massachusetts.

20. Mr. Nicholet preaches his farewell sermons|| in Salem, and is recommended to the churches of London and elsewhere.

22. As the indication of a true idea on heathen mind, that devotion offered to the Supreme, with faith of heart and piety of life, will be efficacious for deliverance from affliction, we have the subsequent tradition.¶ As the Sagamores who still survived and remained in league with the Chief of the Wampanoags, stood in consultation on the highlands of Stow, and asked which of the two settlements, Concord or Sudbury, they should first attack, the decision was made as to the latter. While arguing for such a conclusion, one of the chiefs remarked: "We no prosper if we go to Concord—the great Spirit love that people—they have a great

* Hubbard, p. 173.

† Gookin's Chr. Indians, p. 505, 6.

|| Salem First Ch. Rec.

‡ Butler's Hist. of Groton, p. 156, 7.

§ Conn. Col. Rec.

¶ Shattuck's Hist. of Concord, p. 59.

man there—he *great pray*.” The speaker no doubt had Mr. Bulkley in mind, who was noted for his gift of gospel prayer. It furnishes a clue to the remarkable influence on the hearts of the numerous body of Indians who fled from Hope Atherton, when lost and offering himself to them as a captive, as a means of escaping starvation.

23. Peter Folger, of Nantucket, dates a pamphlet in verse. It is called, “A Looking-Glass for the Times.” It was printed in 1763. It speaks of treatment received by Baptists and Quakers; of ministers as hirelings, and of “college men,” as objectionable. He addresses a petition to Governor Andros, of New York. He represents himself as a prisoner at Sherburn, because he did not pay a fine, laid on him by authorities chosen by opponents to the Duke’s interests, for declining to give up court records; sixty years old; poor and has a family; a resident thirty years on Nantucket and the Vineyard; an interpreter for English and Indians from the beginning. Farmer states that he was grandfather of Benjamin Franklin. The *Magnalia* calls Folger “an able, godly Englishman, employed in teaching the youth in reading, writing, and the principles of religion by catechism, being well learned in the Scriptures, and capable of help in religious matters.” Gov. Andros ordered, August 3, 1677, that his and other cases be suspended, and, September 21, that they be brought before him and his Council at New York. Backus remarks: “I find by Mr. Samuel Hubbard, that Mr. Folger became a Baptist and joined Mr. Clark’s church about the time of this war, as Thomas West, an Englishman, and some Indians from thence, did to Mr. Hiscox’s church in 1680. And Mr. Folger promoted the Baptist principles among the Indians.” One of these, named Japheth, said to him, that he should hold fast his former teachings, and not his latter. After a long, trying and useful life, Mr. Folger died in 1690.*

25. Nathaniel Byfield, a stranger in the country and lately married,† petitions the Council to be released from impressment for marching against the enemy, according to Deut. xxiv. 5: “That when a man hath taken a new wife, he shall not go out to war, neither shall he be charged with any business, but he shall be free at home one year.” This application does not appear to have been considered as within the range of common law for its age and people.

May 3. The General Court begin their session. William Hubbard, of Ipswich, preaches the election sermon. This is entitled “The happiness of a people in the wisdom of their rulers directing, and in the obedience of their brethren attending unto what Israel ought to do.” The text was I. Chronicles, xii. 32.

The author of the discourse says, in its dedication to Governor

* Nantucket Papers, p. 89-98. Mag. B. vi. p. 54. Backus, vol. i. p. 437.

† Mass. Archives. Military, vol. ii. p. 231.

1676.]

Leverett: "It cannot be denied but in the latter end of the former year, the wisest among us were under sad apprehensions concerning the issue of the present troubles that were then come and daily coming upon us, in regard of the rage of the heathen so far let loose against us, and those that were concerned in the election of magistrates for this present year were ready to fear they might bespeak the person on whom the next election should fall, with the words of the prophet, Thou hast clothing, be thou our ruler, and let this ruin be under thine hand. But thanks be to Almighty God, that hath verified that ancient proverb of the Hebrews to our late experience, *Cum duplicauerit lateres, tunc venit Moses*," (When the bricks are doubled, henceforth cometh Moses.) He proceeds to discuss the order, conduct, counsels, courage and resolution of the Jewish Commonwealth in application to New England. He remarks, that in accordance with "learned and judicious writers," it is an undoubted right of "sovereignty to determine what religion shall be publicly professed and exercised within its dominions."

He proceeds to state that "the same power is necessarily required to uphold and maintain true religion, by taking care that public ministers be sent forth to preach the word of truth, administer sacraments, and celebrate all other rites and ordinances, that do concern" such religion: "by providing maintenance and other suitable encouragements for such ministers; by setting up and encouraging the schools of learning, for he that wills the end is supposed also to will the means; by the calling of Synods or Councils, as need may require, to discuss points of religion in controversy, and to hear matters of differences and determine them, and be of use whenever there is want of truth or peace in the churches; by preventing the spreading and growth of corrupt doctrine and heretical opinions. I confess it is not easy to hit the joint in this controversy. I shall lay down this as an undoubted position, that it is scarce possible to give any general rule about toleration that will suit with all times and places. Such opinions in doctrine, or professions and practices in religion, as are attended with any foul practical evils, as most heresies have been, ought to be prohibited by public authority, and the breeders or fomenters of them punished by penal laws, according to the nature of the offense, like other fruits of the flesh. Any doctrine undeniably tending to the disturbance of the civil State ought to be suppressed, and the public profession, yet by civil authority forbidden, and the disobedience to be proceeded against, as wholesome and meet laws provide in such cases. For simple heresy, or misbelieving any truth in religion, though fundamental, if not seditiously or blasphemously held forth, there seems neither rule from the word of God, nor reason from the nature of the thing, why any should undergo capital punishment. Doubtless they that are nursing

fathers of their people ought as well to prevent poison as to provide bread for them, which seems to be all that was intended by the authority of the country in the laws formerly made against heretics. If the owner or keeper of the vineyard shall make a thorn hedge about it, if any man by violence breaking in shall wound or destroy himself, where will the blame be found, in them that made the hedge so sharp and strong, or in them that attempted without leave violently to break in?"

Mr. Hubbard adds: "For those opinions which are inconsistent with the truth of religion and power of godliness, and where those that profess them may in charity be supposed to have in them *aliquid Dei*, as Calvin used to say, the case is far otherwise. Why there may not be an indulgence or connivance at them, that, in some things not fundamental, may not be so far persuaded of the truth of everything professed or practiced in the religion established, as to join with others in all outward acts of worship, being in other respects orderly and peaceable, but desire to worship God according to their own persuasion, I understand not." His remark particularly favored the cause of those who were desirous that the Baptists might be free from all penalties, for not attending the allowed places of worship.

The last branch of the author on this subject is, that the magistrates should reform religion "when it is grown corrupt, or is in tendency thereto."

Referring to the desolations of the land, he says with the Psalmist, "The heathen are come into thine inheritance, O God; the dead bodies of thy servants, some of them have they given to be meat for the fowls of heaven, the flesh of thy servants to the beasts of the earth. Their blood have they shed like water, and there is none to bury them. How long, Lord, wilt thou be angry forever: shall thy jealousy burn like fire before thou pour out thy fury on the heathen?" Here the author vividly refers to the destruction of property and lives by the enemy at Lancaster, Weymouth, Groton, Marlborough, Wrentham, Chelmsford, Sudbury, and of Captain Wadsworth with his company.

Among his closing remarks is the following: "We have many complaints among us. Could we get our hearts stored with this grace of charity," it "would cure all the morellianism and libertinism in the brethren, and all the prelacy and presbyterianism in the elders of the New England churches."

The Court hand instructions to Seth Perry, as a messenger to the hostile Sachems. He was accompanied by Tom Doublet, an Indian guide. He was instructed to require that if they sent persons to make a treaty, such individuals should come to the place that might be agreed on, unarmed, and with a white flag.*

* Gookin's Christian Indians, p. 517.

1676.]

The Court on the 5th send a letter by him to "the Sagamores about Wachussetts, Philip, John, Sam, Wassakenoldquen and Pomham." They say in it that they wish to redeem all the English captives in their hands, and not one after the other. They proceed: "You desire not to be hindered by our men in your planting, promising not to do damage to our towns. This is a great matter, and therefore cannot be ended by letters without speaking one with another. We have therefore sent to you once more, to let you know our minds with all speed. If you will send us home all the English prisoners, it will be a great testimony of a true heart in you to peace, which you say you are willing to have."

As the Christian Indians at the Island are distressed for lack of food, and unable to provide in future, a man is required to take some of them in a boat to catch fish for the supply of their need; and they shall have liberty to get employment in any of the English towns, as scouters and laborers. This is a strong indication that the prevalent prejudice, which had sadly operated against the evangelized Indians, was much weakened, and that they were to be treated with less suspicion and greater friendliness.

With regard to this matter, Gookin observes: "Then God was pleased to mollify the hearts and minds of men towards them; partly by the true reports brought to the General Court, of their distressed estate and the great unlikelihood they were to plant or reap any corn at the Islands; and partly from the success God was pleased to give their brethren abroad in the country's service, insomuch that the hearts of many were, in a degree, changed to those Christian Indians; and the General Court, then sitting, passed an order giving liberty to remove them from the Islands, cautioning their order that it should be done without charge to the country." Such Indians were accordingly brought in boats from the Islands, particularly Deer Island, in Boston harbor, to a place near the house of Thomas Oliver, in Cambridge, who deeply sympathized with them in their trials. Many of them were then sick, such as Waban, their ruler, and John Thomas, their teacher, who recovered, with most of the others. The removal was made at the expense of the missionary Corporation of England, who considered them as under their care. The position so occupied by the Indians was retained by most of them till near October, when they removed.

As an indication* that the extraordinary perils and sufferings of the war had been attended with more than usual insanity, it is ordered that distracted persons in some towns, who had injured their own families and others, should be taken care of by the direction of the selectmen.

A report is made by a committee and accepted, that in view of

* Mass. Gen. Ct. Rec.

"the great difficulties the country labors under to raise money, provisions and clothing for the soldiers employed," a proclamation be made, "that such as are able may be stirred up to give or lend, or both, the country such a sum of money and provisions, as may help to discharge the public necessary debts contracted and contracting in the management of this war; what shall be lent to be paid in three years, and that upon the next public day of Humiliation or Thanksgiving, that shall be appointed by authority, the eldest ministers of the respective towns, be desired to stir up and exhort the people thereunto."

5. Major Daniel Gookin and Capt. Samuel Hunting, of Charlestown, are empowered to raise a company of seventy, and afterwards increased to eighty, Christian Indians, to unite with five hundred of the Colonists, on the 30th, at Concord.

Proposals are made for locating such Indians on Long Island, so that they may improve the planting season. That those of Punkapoag be placed at Brush Hill, as near as they can be with safety to their own fields and wigwams, and some English garrison; those of Nashobah and part of the Naticks at Patucket, and the rest of the latter in their own plantation, or on such lands as may be procured for them. Garrisons shall be constructed at Patucket and Natick, to secure English and Indians against the common foe. The Indians who are to be thus moved, are chiefly women and children, and they are required to lodge constantly in the garrisons, while most of the men are to be in the army. The separation and removal of these afflicted people are committed to the direction of Messrs. Gookin and Eliot. The Court remark, that such are the "solemn occasions with the present awful hand of God on us in the present dispensation," they must put off attendance on the legal cases before them.

The Salem Company of Capt. Joseph Gardner, slain at Narragansett Fort, head their petition to the Legislature, for a supply of officers, as follows: "Whereas by the death of our honored Captain in the service of God and the country, we are deprived of a Captain."

9. Our forces dispersed thirteen Indians. At this point,* Mather remarks: "The praying Indians did approve themselves faithful to the English, and did very good service at this as well as other times; inasmuch as many, who had thoughts of them, begin to blame themselves and have a good opinion of the praying Indians, who have been so generally and so sinfully decryed."

16. A letter from Lord Anglesey, in London, to John Leverett, contains several items† on the distresses of our people. He represents that they seemed to act as if they were independent of the Crown, and would not ask it for help in their warfare with the In-

* Inc. Mather's Diary.

† Hutchinson's Hist. 3 ed. vol. i. p. 279, 80.

1676.]

dians. He mentions that were the King applied to for assistance, he believes that it would be readily granted. He observes: "It is not altogether groundlessly reported, that the French do underhand assist and supply your enemies." In this his Lordship was very probably correct. The influence of the Jesuits, easily brought to bear on Philip through French traders, who had long visited in the neighborhood of his territory, and by other means, was most likely a principal stimulus to urge him on in the enterprise of exterminating the Puritans and their religion.

19. In the Fall fight on Connecticut River, wherein the enemy lost three hundred men, women and children, and which was among the causes of their overthrow, Capt. William Turner, with thirty-eight of his men, were slain. He was too unwell to engage in battle, but he felt constrained to lead his soldiers by the great prospect of success. Farmer states that he came from Dartmouth, in England. He left a wife, Mary. He was a member of the Baptist church, of Boston, by whom he was much beloved, and with whom he had suffered for what they believed just resistance to authority.

Hope Atherton, minister of Hatfield,* was chaplain in this expedition. In the retreat he was separated from the troops, and wandered in the woods. Perceiving the next morning, that there was no prospect of striking upon the route homeward, he concluded, if meeting the enemy, to place himself in their hands as the likeliest means of prolonging his life. The next day, when discovering a party, he made directly towards them, and gave signs of his readiness to become their prisoner. But unaccountably to him, they fled from his presence, shewing no hostility and appearing to be under the influence of fear. He then sought the river Connecticut, which he found, and following it several days with great hunger, fatigue and anxiety, he finally reached his home. The singular conduct of the enemy towards him, was probably owing to their impression from his dress and air, that he was a priest, and that injury done to him would bring down on them judgments of the Great Spirit. Such superstition proved in this instance real preservation. Tradition of descendants in the family, reports that he became deranged. In June, 1679, he closed his earthly career, and thus welcomed the restoration of his reason, never more to be disordered, but ever to abound in the glories of a warfare, accomplished through the might of Emmanuel.

24. The Legislature answer a communication from Connecticut. They remark as to late conflicts with the enemy: "Thus God is pleased to mix his smiles with his frowns. The season is sickly, our forces disabled at present, but we have impressed, and hope by 1st of June, to be out with five hundred horse and foot and

* Hoyt's Researches, p. 133. Williams's Redeemed Captive.

Indians, on visiting of the enemy's head-quarters at Wachussetts, taking it on their march to join with your forces and Indians, who we hope and desire may be proportional to pursue and distress the enemy (if God please). The Indians hereabouts do but dally and intend not peace, therefore we concur, without, in a vigorous prosecution of them. We have communicated our thoughts to the Governor of Plymouth, from whom we yesterday received his concurrence in the affair, and assurance that what is in their power now is and shall be out to scout in those parts, commending your and our endeavors to the gracious guidance and blessing of the Almighty."

28. From the minutes of Andros's Council at New York,* it is evident that he, supposing Massachusetts to have complained too much of Philip's forces receiving supplies at Albany, begins to retaliate, and thus prolongs the sufferings of New England churches and communities. It is probable that "Boston will make a peace with the North Indians on their own account alone. Resolved that endeavors be made to put a stop to the Maques' further prosecuting the North Indians. 29. All North Indians that will come in, may be protected. 30. All such Indians shall be received to live under the protection of [New York] Government, and the Governor will be at Albany, where any of them may freely come and speak with him and return again as they see cause, without molestation. Memorandum—That the French do receive North Indians under their protection, and it's said that five hundred of them are already."

June. A petition of Andrew Pittmeec† and other officers of eighty praying Indians in service, is directed to the General Court, for mercy towards some of the prisoners lately taken by them, near Lancaster and Marlborough. The persons for whom they supplicate as their friends and kindred, are Captain Tom, his son Nehemiah, his wife and two children, John Uktuck, his wife and children, Maanum and her child. They say of them: "The persons we beg pardon for, as we are informed, are innocent; and have not done wrong to the English, all this war time; only were against their wills taken and kept among the enemy. We have (especially some of us) been sundry times in your service, to the hazard of our lives, as spies, messengers, scouts and soldiers, and have, through God's favor, acquitted ourselves faithfully, and shall, as long as we live, endeavor with all fidelity to fight in the English cause, which we judge is our own cause, and also God's cause, to oppose the wicked Indians, enemies to God and all goodness." The Council reply to the petitioners, that they have so much evidence that Captain Tom had acted with the enemy, they cannot grant him pardon, though they do to the women and children, for whom they intercede.

* Easton's Philip's War, p. 158, 9.

† Gookin's Chr. Indians, p. 527-9.

1676.]

So many of the men belonging to Boston were in public service,* and so great the alarm from the final struggle of foes, whose only hope was in the destruction of the Colonists, the women of this town began to build a fortification across its neck with mud and turf.

Soon after the repulse at Hadley, Philip and his allies began to disperse from that quarter, where they had caused many deaths and great suffering among the English forces and inhabitants. Of their discouragements was, that the Mohawks had become his fearful opponents. Philip had used strenuous exertions to draw these powerful warriors to make a common cause with him against the Christians. Perceiving that they would not consent, he resorted to the stratagem of having a small party of them waylaid and all killed, as was supposed, and the report made that this was done by the English, but one survived to reveal his treachery and bring retribution upon him. Church (Philip's War, p. 68) speaks of this as having occurred while Philip was at "Scattacook, between York and Albany," and before he came to "the fall of Connecticut River," where Turner and Holyoke's forces successfully attacked his warriors, saying: "The Moohags made a descent upon him and killed many of his men, which moved him from thence." Hubbard observes: "It is certain, after the end of this month, (June,) the power of the enemy began every where to fail." They "that had lurked about Connecticut River all this spring, being visited with sundry diseases, disappointed of the fishing and put by their planting, began to be at variance among themselves." "The Hadley and Pocumtuck (now Deerfield) Indians quarrelled with Philip for occasioning the English and them to fall out." They "resolved to return to their own homes; Philip to Mount Hope and the Narragansetts to their country; the Nipnets and River Indians westward; others northward, towards Pennicook upon Merrimack, intending to shift for themselves as well as they could."

In Mather's *Prevalency of Prayer*, Increase Mather informs us, the churches of Dublin, where he had a brother settled, manifest their benevolence for our colonists and their faith in divine promise, in assembling to supplicate the God of armies, that he would give victory to our fathers over their heathen enemies. The same writer adds: "The prayers of the churches of Europe have had no small share in our mercies. I can assure the reader that the churches in London, in Suffolk, in Dorset, in Devon, in Somerset, in Lancashire, have, by fasting and prayer, sought the Lord for New England, in the time of our late troubles." Though this may excite the smile of unbelief, it is in the fullest accordance with revealed wisdom.

July. About the first of this month, the Massachusetts authori-

* N. E. Tears for her Present Miseries.

ties being informed that many Indians were desirous of coming under their protection, issued a proclamation* to the import, that whoever of them would submit to their laws, within fourteen days, might hope for mercy.

15. Two Indians were brought prisoners from the Eastward into Marblehead.† While some women there were coming out of meeting, they met these prisoners, and such was their excitement against them for sufferings brought upon the English by the wars, they attacked and put them to death. A Quaker went through Boston, crying, Repent.‡

18. The Quakers of Salem,§ after some respite from prosecution, are again arraigned. Josiah Southwick was presented for bringing the wife of John Smith to address the congregation there on the Sabbath, to their great annoyance. He is fined 10/., and ordered to bring Mrs. Smith before the Court the next day, or pay 30/. The wife of Henry Trask is fined 5/., for disturbing the congregation, as they came out of meeting. John Robinson is fined 10/., for being twice at the Quakers' meeting. Six others are called to account for absence from lawful worship.

20. Ready to embark for England, Randolph says|| that he called on Governor Leverett, who severely rebuked him for conversing in New Hampshire and Maine against their being subject to the jurisdiction of Massachusetts, and that he designed "to make a mutiny in the country, and to withdraw the people from their obedience to the magistracy of that Colony and the authority thereof."

27. Sagamore John, who resided in the vicinity of Brookfield, came and surrendered himself, with one hundred and eighty other Indians, to the Governor and Council in Boston. Among them was Matoonas, who for the injury he had done, was hung on a gibbet. Of them also, were some of the Christian Indians, who were carried from Hassanamesitt.

August 9. A special session of the General Court¶ takes place. The occasion of it is a letter brought from the King by Edward Randolph, concerning the claims of heirs to Gorges and Mason. The Court, informed that many of the Elders were in Boston, send the marshal to request their presence and advice on so important an affair. They agree that the following question be submitted to the ministers. Whether the most expedient manner of making answer to the complaints of Mr. Gorges and Mr. Mason, about the extent of our Patent line, be by sending agents or written representations only.

From twenty-four Elders, to whom this was proposed, Thomas Cobbet returned the subsequent answer to the Court. To reply in

* Hubbard's Indian Wars, p. 236, 40.

† Sewall's Diary.

|| Hutch. Coll. p. 510.

‡ Inc. Mather's Diary.

§ Annals of Salem, p. 254.

¶ Mass. Gen. Ct. Rec.

1676.]

writing may be construed not sufficiently respectful to his Majesty; doubtful whether it would be received, as the case stands, and it may afford advantage to the plaintiffs so as to obtain their wish. To reply through agents, is encouraged by the former success of such commissioners; our friends in England think that they should be sent over; agents can more pertinently answer objections than mere written statements, and the non-employment of them may be interpreted as though we were fearful to appear in our defense.

Simon Bradstreet and others are a committee to answer the royal communication and the two petitions of heirs to Gorges and Mason. They are to address some suitable person in England, who will receive these documents, deliver them to the proper offices and answer for Massachusetts as need may require.

About this date a sad event took place.* The wife of Captain Andrew Pittmece, his sister, the wife of Thomas Speene, and her three children, and a young woman who belonged to the Christian Indians, were murdered at Hurtleberry Hill, in Watertown. They were here gathering berries to help out the scanty fare of their families. They were accompanied by an Indian man, lately returned from military service and armed. Thirteen English horsemen came in sight of them. They took away the Indian's carbine and threatened to kill him; but he interceded for his life and they spared him. They conversed in a friendly manner with the females and left them. But four of their number returned, and as subsequently proved, killed them and the children. They were tried and condemned to death. Two of them were executed, and two pardoned by the Governor, each paying £10, part of which for the bereaved husband. With reference to the sufferings as well as services of these and the other "praying Indians" of Massachusetts and Plymouth, Gookin remarks as follows: "I contend that the small company of our Indian friends have taken and slain of the enemy, in the summer of 1676, not less than four hundred; and their fidelity and courage is testified by the certificates of their captains. It may be said in truth, that God made use of these poor, despised and hated Christians, to do great service for the churches of Christ in New England, in this day of their trial; and I think it was observed by impartial men, that after our Indians went out, the balance turned of the English side."

12. As an event of great importance, Philip, who had success-

* Gookin's Christian Indians, p. 513, 4.

NOTE.—1676. August 10. Potock, chief counsellor of the Old Squaw Sachem of Narragansett, a prisoner, having been found guilty of promoting the war, is shot to death on Boston Common. While on his way hither, he stated, that at the Fort fight last winter, where there were above 3,000 Indians, they had 700 fighting men killed, and 300 of their wounded soon after died, and "that as to old men, women and children, they had lost nobody could tell how many."—*I. Mather, Ind. Wars.*

fully baffled many plans, stratagems and efforts of the New England forces for his capture and death, is shot dead on Mount Hope Neck, by an Indian called Alderman, under the command of Benjamin Church. Thus fell a man, endowed with great powers, in defense of heathenism and of aboriginal rule over this country, to the exclusion of Christianity and of European population. His allies, who had a lingering hope that he might continue a destructive scourge to the Colonists, despair, in view of his death, and either yield to the English, or flee and become incorporated with distant nations of Indians. In the comparatively short but tremendous conflict, which he commenced and carried on, with distinguished tact and bravery, under many discouraging circumstances, though with savage cruelties of his race,—six hundred of the Colonists, children and adults, were either slain in battle or murdered; thirteen towns destroyed; six hundred buildings, chiefly houses, consumed, and a great amount of other property destroyed, according to common estimation, by his warriors. Edward Randolph, in his statement to the King's Privy Council, said that houses burned, were 1,200, and that 8,000 head of cattle were killed, and that the whole loss of property in New England was £150,000. A writer from Boston, at this date, to a friend in London, makes a lower estimate, as to the slain of the English. He put them at four hundred and forty-four, besides fifty-five prisoners. He observes, that it is uncertain how many the Indians lost, because they burn their slain and keep the number of them secret, but it is conjectured that they had nine hundred and ten killed. An author here, perhaps the same person who gives this account, sent over to London "sad and deplorable news from New England, poetically related," and it belongs to the British Museum. In addition to such losses, the Confederates were forced to lay very heavy taxes on polls and estates, and run greatly into debt for supporting the expenses of the war. Besides all this, they are again called in question by the Lords of Trade and Plantations for complaints.*

Sewall, in his Diary, mentions the commencement of a weekly conference meeting this summer, on Wednesday evening, in Boston, at different individuals' houses. Then some brother, by way of opening the remarks, spoke on a passage of Scripture, which he had selected. This custom was introduced in an early period of the Colony.

September 6. A special General Court assemble. Their address to the King;—declaration as to Eastern territory, and instructions for William Stoughton and Peter Bulkley, their commissioners bound to London, are accepted. In the first document, they observe, that on account of "what the calamitous and deeply dis-

* Church's Philip's War. Holmes, vol. i. p. 384. Hutchinson, 3 ed. vol. i. p. 277. Hubbard's Ind. Wars, p. 226. Hoyt's Researches, p. 143.

1676.]

tressed estate of this your Majesty's Colony, (in conjunction with its neighbours and confederates,) laboring under woeful and tragical effects of more than a year's cruel and uninterrupted war, have been," sent Mr. Secretary Williamson, so that he may inform your Majesty. "Since that time it hath pleased Almighty God, to whom vengeance belongeth, to plead our cause against the insolent heathen, both by laying a restraint upon them, and thereby for a season, giving us respite from their violent and depopulating incursions, as also by making the expeditions of your loyal subjects against them, in our southern and western parts, so far prosperous, that multitudes of them, together with their Sachems and principal counsellors and commanders, yea, Philip himself, whose head and hand were first in the design, are cut off and destroyed, most of the remainder being found either to submit to mercy, or to forsake their old and seek new habitations, far remote in the wilderness. This singular smile of divine Providence gave us fair hopes of such a calmness and composedness in our public affairs, as might well suit with our intended convening, and best further our desires and resolutions of attending your Royal pleasure signified to us; but suddenly and unexpectedly we are alarmed by the irruption and treacherous villainy of a new enemy, together with some of the former, springing up in these eastern parts, concerning which the controversy between us, and the complainants against us, doth arise."

As to their commerce, letters dated in April were forwarded to them and all the other Colonies, requiring them to conform with the maritime regulations of the mother country. That such orders may be complied with, they were backed by the declaration, "that no Mediterranean passes should be granted to New England, to protect its vessels against the Turks, till it is seen what dependence it will acknowledge on his Majesty, or whether the custom-house officers are received as in other Colonies." Having a full share of these trials, Massachusetts has another, peculiar to her, even collision with the King's partiality for the withdrawal of New Hampshire and Maine, as previously stated, from her jurisdiction. Surely, she would have sunk beneath her burdens, had not the Lord sustained her.*

12. A license is granted by Governor Leverett to Thomas Smith,† captain of the ship *Sea Flower*, to transport and sell seventy Indians, men, women and children, who had "been sentenced and condemned to perpetual servitude," for being concerned in the rebellion of Philip.

19. A Council met at Salisbury,‡ relative to the excommunication of Col. Pike. They advise the church to repeal the vote for cutting him off.

* Mass. Gen. Ct. Rec.

† MS. Mass. Hist. Soc.

‡ Annals of Salem.

20. Edward Randolph gives a narrative of affairs in Massachusetts, to the King's Privy Council.*

He proceeds to mention laws contradictory to those of England. Some of them follow: "All persons of the age of twenty-one years, being excommunicate or condemned, have liberty to make wills and dispose of lands and estates. Ministers are ordained by the people, and no injunction to be put on any church officer or member, in point of doctrine, worship or discipline, whether for substance or circumstance, besides the institution of the Lord. Whoever shall observe a Christmas-day or the like festivity, by forbearing to labor, feasting or otherway, shall pay 5/.; and who-soever shall not resort to their meeting upon the Lord's day and such days of Fasting and Thanksgiving as shall be appointed by authority, shall pay 5/. No days commanded by the laws of England to be observed or regarded. No person shall join any person in marriage but a magistrate, it being an honorable ordinance and therefore should be accordingly solemnized. All strangers professing the true Christian religion, that shall flee to them for succor from the tyranny or oppression of their persecutors, or for any necessary or compulsory cause, shall be entertained and protected amongst them according to that power and prudence God shall give them. By which law, Whalley and Goffe, and other traitors were kindly received and entertained by Mr. Gookin and other magistrates."

Randolph states that the Bay authorities have a dislike to the French, bordering on their Eastern jurisdiction, "believing they have had a hand in the late war with the Indians." In reference to causes of this war, he relates: "Some believe there have been vagrant and jesuitical priests who made it their business, for some years past, to go from sachem to sachem, to exasperate the Indians against the English, and to bring them into a confederacy, and that they were promised supplies from France and other parts, to extirpate the English nation out of the continent of America. Some impute it to an imprudent zeal in the magistrates of Boston to Christianize those heathen before they were civilized, and enjoining them the strict observance of their laws." With regard to this last clause, it is erroneous in its matter of fact. Eliot and other missionaries were encouraged by the authorities of Massachusetts, as well as by the Commissioners of the Union, who acted for the Missionary Society in England, to bring the Indians to civilization and Christianity together, believing that the one was an efficient aid to the other.

From Randolph's description of the great body of the people in New England, as desirous for the subversion of Massachusetts ascendancy, so that they might come under a general Governor, he

* Hutchinson's Coll. p. 477.

1676.]

must either have been much imposed on, or made very incorrect conclusions from the real facts.

He continues his narrative. "The clergy are for the most part very civil, and inclining to his Majesty's Government, being held in subjection by the ruling elders, who govern all affairs of the church." If he meant that the former were not strong for their charter privileges, which he spoke of as naught, and that the latter were arrayed against them, in this respect he labored under a great error.

On October 12, he mentions the library at Harvard College as containing "some few books of the ancient fathers and school divines, but in regard divinity is the general study, there are many English books of the late Non-conformist writers, especially of Baxter and Dr. Owen. Here they teach Hebrew before they well understand Latin. Mr. Thomas Graves, an ingenious and worthy person, was put by his fellowship, by the late Dr. Hoor, because he would not renounce the Church of England."*

September. The Indians at Cambridge separated for different locations.† Some took up their abode at the falls of Charles River, and others at Nonantum Hill, where they first began to pray to God, under the instruction of Mr. Eliot. Here, Anthony, one of their teachers, had a large wigwam erected, in which Gookin held his Courts, and Eliot preached once a fortnight. The other week, these friends of the Indians met for like purposes, the Puckanuit or Punkapong tribe, who came from the Island at the same time, and were placed at Brush Hill, in Milton, under the supervision of Thomas Swift. With what they raised, the venison their hunters took, the corn and clothes provided by the Missionary Corporation, these several companies of natives were rendered very comfortable through the winter. They held to the religion of Christ, whose promises had enabled them to endure a great "fight of affliction." Besides the places where Indians met to worship, were Natick, Medfield, Concord and Namkeake, near Chelmsford. At most of them there were teachers and schools for the young.

October 3. Benanuel Bowers and his wife Elizabeth,‡ Thomas Osborn and his wife, are fined by the Middlesex Court for non-attendance on lawful worship. To be committed, if refusing payment.

12. The complaint of Mr. Rushworth last session, against Captain Joshua Scottow, of Boston, a firm supporter of Puritanism, charging him with employing soldiers under his command at Black Point for his own private concerns, is declared unsupported, and the accuser is required to pay the costs.

17. Thomas Clark is granted £6 by the Legislature, for serving as chaplain seven weeks at Narragansett. He was the son of James

* Hutch. Coll. p. 477. † Gookin's Chr. Ind. p. 518, 9. ‡ Middlesex MS. Rec.

Clark,* born at Cambridge, March 2, 1653, graduated at Harvard College, 1670, succeeded John Fisk as second minister of Chelmsford, 1677, and died December 7, 1704.

25. As the allies of Philip were slain, taken, or had fled into remote parts; there was an abatement of an epidemical disease which had prevailed most of the summer; and there had been a plentiful harvest, Thanksgiving is ordered to be kept on the 9th of November. The Court, also, appoint a Fast to be observed the first Thursday in December.

November 1. Mugg,† desirous for peace, visits Portsmouth, bringing with him Fryer, mortally wounded, and promising that his crew should be returned without ransom. General Daniel Denison being there, accommodated him with a passage to Boston.

6. Here Mugg negotiates a treaty of peace with the Governor and Council, in behalf of Cheberina and Madockawanda, sachems of Penobscot, who are pledged to treat all eastern Indians as enemies, that continue hostile to the English. This was the first transaction of the kind with the Tarranteens.

10. Gookin gives an account of the praying Indians, to the Council.‡ It is to be understood that the first figures mean men; and the second, women and children. The Punkapoags reside about Milton, Dorchester and Braintree, where they are employed by the English, and number 35 men and 140 women and children. The Naticks are divided into four companies. One, with James Rumney Marsh and his relatives, dwell at Medfield, and are 5 and 20. Another reside near Natick, and the garrison-house of John Dewin and sons, and consist of 10 and 40. A third company are with Waban, adjacent to the falls of Charles River and the house of Joseph Miller; they are 12 and 50. A fourth division are located at Nonantum Hill, where they and some nigh John White's, of Muddy River, and Thomas Oliver's, meet to worship on the Sabbath; they constitute 15 and 60.

Among the Naticks, are remains of those Indians whose settlements, before the war, were at Hassanamesitt, Magunkog, Marlborough and Wamesitt. The Nashobahs are placed at Concord, numbering 10 and 40. Wannalancet's people are at Dunstable, nigh Jonathan Tyng's, and make 10 and 50. There are 8 and 17 at Ipswich. Some families live about Watertown and Cambridge, who number 7 and 33. The total is 112 men, 450 women and children, and in all 562. Above thirty of the men are at the eastward, under Captain Hunting. Part of them work for the English in spinning, cutting wood and building stone wall. Some of the children are put to service in English families. The several companies assemble on the Sabbath to worship God. There are

* Farmer's Gen. Reg.

† Williamson's Me. vol. i. p. 545.

‡ Gookin's Christian Indians, p. 532, 3.

1676.]

religious teachers of themselves at Medfield, Andrew Dewin's, Lower Falls, Nonantum, Concord and Dunstable. Evidently the desolations of war had greatly reduced the number of Christian Indians.

25. A vessel arrived at Boston from Ireland with a load of provisions,* to help supply those who had been impoverished by the war. She was thus fitted out by charitable Quakers of Dublin.

December 2. Increase Mather's "War with the Indians," from June 24, 1675, to the death of Philip, August 12, 1676, is licensed for a London press, "according to the original copy printed in New England." His reason for doing this was, that there were errors in the publications of a merchant in Boston, published in London, and of a Quaker (John Easton) in Rhode Island, "fraught with worse than mere mistakes," which required his correction.

After presenting the documents which prove that New England were amply justifiable in their resistance to the desolating attacks of this chief and his allies, Increase Mather remarks as follows: † "We may truly say of Philip and the Indians, who sought to dispossess us of the land which the Lord our God hath given to us, as sometimes Jephthah and the children of Israel said to the King of Ammon: 'I have not sinned against thee, but thou dost me wrong to war against me. The Lord the Judge be judge this day between the children of Israel and the children of Ammon.' And as Jehosaphat said, when the heathen in those days combined to destroy the Lord's people: 'And now behold the children of Ammon and Moab and Mount Seir, whom thou wouldst not let Israel invade, when they came out of the land of Egypt; but they turned from them and destroyed them not; behold how they rewarded us, to come to cast us out of thy possession, which thou hast given us to inherit.' Even so, when Philip was in the hands of the English in former years, and disarmed by them, they could, easily, but would not, destroy him and his men. The Governors of that Colony (Plymouth) have been as careful to prevent injuries to him as unto others; yea, they kept his land not from him but for him, who otherwise would have sold himself out of all; and the gospel was freely offered to him and to his subjects; but they despised it, and now behold how they reward us!"

18. Messrs. Rowlandson and Willard called on my father.‡ While they were here, Mr. Shepard came in. They discoursed of reformation, especially of the meetings of the Quakers and Anabaptists. They thought that if all could agree, i. e., the magistrates and ministers, the former might easily be suppressed, and the magistrates would see reason to handle the latter. As to what offense England might take at such a course, they should leave it to the disposal of God. They wished that all the children in the

* Inc. Mather's Diary.

† P. S. of Ind. Wars, by Inc. Mather, p. 8.

‡ Sewall's Diary.

country were baptized, and believed that as this rite was neglected, religion would falter.

Wunnanauhkomun was an Indian preacher at Christian town.* He was exemplary in the religious duties of his family, consisting of a wife and three daughters, who survived him, with the consolations of his parting benediction. He labored diligently to support his dependants, devoting a part of each successive mid-day to study and meditation, and the whole of the last day in the week to preparation for the Sabbath. "He was highly esteemed and honored by many of the poor people, to whom he dispensed the word of God, who therefore frequently visited him and performed many good offices for him in the time of his last and very long sickness." So comforted and disciplined, he peacefully departed, this year, for the Canaan of promise.

In the distressing war with Philip, the Indians at Martha's Vineyard,† being as twenty to one of the English there, were suspected by some persons, who desired that they might be disarmed. Their governor, Thomas Mayhew, and his assistants, favored a conversation, through Capt. Richard Sarson and a small party with the natives who resided at the west part of the Vineyard nearest to the main, and who had not lately professed Christianity. These Indians replied that they needed their arms to protect themselves against the insurgents, who were enemies to them as well as to the English. They also signed an obligation to do all in their power for the welfare of the Islands. Having such a return, the Governor immediately employed them as a guard, supplying them with needed ammunition and instructions how to act. They proved themselves faithful in the trust, and when their relatives and acquaintances came frequently to solicit and turn them from their covenant, they would bring them before the chief magistrate. Such was the confidence which they gained, the English of the Islands left with them the principal care of vigilance and defense against whatever approaches the enemy might make.

1677. January 4. The Council write to the like body in Connecticut on the subject of hiring the Mohawks against Eastern Indians. "Being fully assured that the Mackquaes are and long have been a great terror unto them, we have at length concluded, with your joint concurrence, which we desire, to send unto the said Mackquaes to invite their coming down upon them through the country, which may drive them down unto the sea-coast and places fit for our forces to fall upon them; and to bestow some suitable present upon them, by the hands of such persons as yourselves and Major Pyncheon shall judge meet to betrust therewith." This was done next April by the officer, here named, with a guard of seven men.‡

They add: "We suppose you have long since received account

* E. Mayhew, *Indian Converts*, p. 18-20.

† Prince's *Autobiography of English Ministers*, p. 296, 6.

‡ Conn. Gen. Ct. Papers.

1677.]

of the Irish Charity. We thought meet to give you account of our method of obtaining knowledge of such as are in distress, as you may see by this order, sent to our several towns, by which we find 660 families, consisting of 2,265 persons, in distress; and yet want returns from thirteen towns, which will augment our distressed inhabitants. We want such account from yourselves and the other Colony, by which we may proportion what is divisible amongst us."

14. John Fisk, minister of Chelmsford, is called to close his faithful labors. Though here as one of his various abodes, yet he was uniform and steadfast in the continuation of his exertions for the best of human interests. The Gospel, in its calls on the faith and obedience of all the world constantly increased, to his perception, in its excellence and necessity. Aside from the toil he had given to the education of youth, it was his joy to conform with the two-fold duties of a skillful physician and an able messenger of Revelation. An inestimable helper to him in his various employments was Anne, the companion of his younger years and trials. She was remarkable for her acquaintance with the Bible. She could guide expertly even the intelligent therein for knowledge. But the infirmities of mortality touched her vision. She lost her sight several years before her decease. Still the affliction imparted to her a nearer view of "the things which are not seen and are eternal." She expired 14th of February, 1671.* Though deeply afflicted, Mr. Fisk, after a time, married again, as a change better suited to his loneliness and usefulness, Elizabeth, the widow of his friend, Edmund Hinchman. While disciplined by his various allotments, he was careful to meet his obligations as they arose.

When the Westminster System of doctrines was communicated to the churches of New England, by the Colonial authorities, Mr. Fisk was among the most active to have this matter properly considered by his church, so that it might be returned for due and conclusive action. That his flock might feel that it was all-important for them to advance in heavenly wisdom and piety, he persevered in the means to give and perpetuate such improvement. He discoursed on the Assembly's Catechism twice with his people before his afternoon sermons on the Sabbath. He composed and published a useful catechism, called "Watering of the plants in Christ's garden, or a short catechism for the entrance of our Chelmsford children, enlarged by a three-fold appendix."

During his ministry, he went through "an exposition of almost all the Scripture in both Testaments," delivered a monthly lecture on week-day, discourses at the meetings of professors, and continued a salutary course of church discipline.

Yielding to the pressure of abundant labor and study, and receiving additional warnings that his earthly habitation was soon

* Allen's Chelmsford, p. 21, puts this 21st of March.

to be broken down, he was visited with the severities of stone and the gout. These occasioned him to be carried to and from the pulpit in a chair, whence, in a sitting posture, he dispensed the messages of salvation. But this privilege was arrested, and he was confined to his chamber. Waiting for the summons of his Lord, he said as follows to his four children, who were at his bed-side for a blessing: "You are as a shock of corn bound up, or as twins made beautiful by the covenant of grace. You have an interest in the sure mercies of David; those you have to live upon. Study to emulate one another; but in the best, in the best. Provoke one another to love. The God of your forefathers bless you all." Cotton Mather applies to him the passages of Paul, "The beloved physician; a brother whose praise is in the gospel throughout all churches."*

February 7. The Baptists of Boston and vicinity had become enlarged so much under the ministrations of Mr. Miles and others, they agree to form two churches,† though afterwards revoked.

On an expedition‡ of one hundred and fifty men, who sail from Boston to subdue the enemy in Maine, and liberate the captives in their hands, are sixty praying Indians. Previously to their departure a public Fast was observed for their success.

March 5. Robert Boyle addresses Robert Thompson§ on the subject of propagating the Gospel among the natives, where the East India Company had extended their commerce. He relates the means employed for a similar purpose among the Indians of New England: "We have caused the Holy Scriptures and some few choice practical books to be translated into their chiefest language. We have caused some of ours to learn their tongue; and, having convinced them of their idolatry and the sinfulness of their courses, to preach to them and to catechize them in their own language. And then we breed some of their hopeful, forward youths, to that knowledge of the English tongue and European learning, that they may afterwards be able to confute the idolatrous priests, and convert and instruct their own countrymen."

6. A case is before the Court of Assistants, which shows that Indian men, women and children had been sent to Fayal, and there sold, without proper authority. The vessel which carried them was commanded by John Houghton. He was charged with man-stealing and cleared; but was fined £20 and costs for not protesting against the reception of such Indians on board of his vessel.||

April 24. Thomas Parker dies in his eighty-second year. He was the only son of Rev. Robert Parker, and was born 1596. For a time he studied at Oxford, afterwards with Dr. Usher, of Ireland, and with Dr. Ames, in Holland. He returned to Newbury, in England, where he preached and taught school. He came with

* *Magnalia*, vol. i. p. 477-80.

† *Backus*, vol. i. p. 480.

‡ *Hubbard's Indian Wars*, p. 345.

§ *Life of Boyle*.

|| *Ct. of Ass't Rec.*

1677.]

other "devout Christians out of Wiltshire," to New England, in May, 1634. He preached at Ipswich about a year, as an assistant to Mr. Ward. The next year he was settled as pastor, and James Noyes as teacher, over the Newbury church. He lived a bachelor, and having no children of his own, he supplied several young men with means to be educated at Harvard. He was an advocate for Presbyterianism, which was the source of long and severe trouble to him and his colleague, as opposed by a large number of their congregation. He had printed several theses *de traductione peccatoris ad vitam*, composed by him when young; with some works of Dr. Ames; a Letter of his to a Member of Parliament, on the Government of the Churches in England, 1644; his Exposition of Daniel's Prophecies, 4to, 1646; and a Letter to his Sister, Mrs. Avery, on her religious opinions, 1649. Several years before his decease, he became blind. He used to remark on his darkened eyes, "They will be restored shortly in the resurrection." He deservedly sustained the reputation of eminence in talent, scholarship, beneficence and piety.

Thomas Jollie, of Pendleton, near Clitheron Lane, addresses Increase Mather, whom he had never seen.* "The extraordinary account of the New England worthies which I ever had, and the entire accord I have with them in that pure yet peaceable way wherein the Lord hath led them, have been the foundation of a more abundant affection to the New England churches than any people in the world. The late troubles you were in, gave us an occasion to know our own hearts the better as to that thing. The Lord is witness how deeply we resented your distresses, and what days were set apart for you, as also how heartily we rejoiced in your deliverance, and what a day of thanksgiving we had on that account." He speaks of reformation in the churches of Old and New England. "I wish to know the true state of that question among you about the posterity of the church. Whether you do not admit them as complete members of the Lord's supper, if they be free from scandalous sins of omission and commission, if they do also solemnly own the covenant with the Lord and his people, though they give not a satisfactory account of the work of God upon their souls, and yet would partake of such farther privilege; whether you exercise discipline upon them in a church-way, if they neglect the duty and privilege aforesaid; whether you admit the children of such to baptism, the immediate parents falling into scandal or neglecting to own the Covenant as aforesaid."

May 8. John Westgate of Harleston, Norfolk, writes to Increase Mather.† He formerly resided at Rev. John Cotton's, of Boston. "The sad condition of New England has been much upon our

* Mather's Papers.

† Ibid.

hearts. We have had many solemn days of humiliation and y^e 25th of January last, we had a solemn day of Thanksgiving for y^e great deliverance we heard y^e Lord had given you. This was very general among all y^e Congregational churches in city and country round about, we sending one to another, and agreeing of y^e day before hand, which was also kept by many of y^e Baptist congregations. In which day (understanding your deliverance was not perfected) we not only blessed God for y^e mercy you had received, but pleaded with God to perfect your deliverance, and help you to a thorough reformation, both in Church and Commonwealth." He thanks Mr. Mather for the history of the wars. He thinks that New England suffers in Old England for severe treatment to the Quakers, and that our laws should be more lenient to them, and especially to the Baptists. Of these he says, are three classes in England; one who hold no other regular Christian churches but theirs, and will not join in prayer with the best of Congregational ministers, even in the family. Another, who join with Congregationalists in religious service. The third (most of them in London) commune with other denominations.

23. Considering the settlement of adjacent Indians to be of "great concernment," the Court make the subsequent regulations.* All their children and youth, who are disposed of by authority, or by the consent of the parents and relatives, to any English people, shall be taught the Christian religion and remain servants till they are twenty-four years old, except special contract otherwise provide. The children of hostile parents, or those who have lived with the enemy, and have been captured, and given or sold to the English, shall be at the disposal of their masters, if instructed in civilization and Christianity. Others, in this jurisdiction, inclusive of those known as praying Indians, shall dwell at Natick, Punkapoag, Hassanamesitt and Wamesitt; be inspected and governed, as the Legislature direct; a list of their number shall be taken annually; they shall entertain no foreign Indians without leave of their overseers. None of them are to carry guns a hunting without permits.

The General Court commence a session. Their transactions follow. All laws, for preventing the violation of the Sabbath, shall be read by ministers to their congregations, twice every year, in March and September. The Selectmen are required to appoint persons, as tything-men, each of whom shall have the inspection of ten families in his own neighborhood, and who, in absence of constables, shall have power to apprehend all violators of the Sabbath. These trespassers shall be "put into a cage in Boston, which is to be forthwith set up in the market-place," and in such other towns as the county courts may designate, where they are to remain, till tried and punished. Constables are required to

* Gen. Ct. Record.

1677.]

search for Quakers on the Lord's day, if suspected of being met together for worship, and should they be denied admittance, they may break open the doors and take them. All who are able to attend allowed worship and do not, shall be legally fined.

June 5. Capt. Jno. Gardner, brought from Nantucket to General Court at Martha's Vineyard, when led into Court, sat down with his hat on, showing by his manners, contempt for them. They fined him £10, in money. Not allowing the Court at Nantucket to be legally chosen, he appeals to the Court of Assize at New York. On August 3d, Andros and his Council order a suspension of Gardner's case, and the case of Folger and others. Sept. 21, they order the sentence for Gardner and Tristram Coffin's disfranchisement and fine to be null, and that Folger's case can be laid before Governor and Council at New York.*

Benanuel Bowers, of Charlestown, and wife Elizabeth, are in Cambridge prison.† He, by her, on March 5th, presented Thomas Danforth a Quaker book, and "a paper of scurrilous verses," which defamed him and other magistrates. For this, Bowers is sentenced to be whipped twenty stripes, next 5th day after lecture, in Boston.

On the petition of Salisbury, the Court nominate a Committee to go thither and settle their town and church difficulties, which had existed for several years.

11. The selectmen of Salem agree,‡ that each of them would take turns and go with the constables, forenoon and afternoon, morning and evening, of the Sabbath, to prevent its being violated.

22. Edmund Brown, minister of Sudbury,§ closes his useful life. He was employed here in pastoral labors as early as 1638. He was admitted freeman, 1640. The Magnalia places him among its first class of divines, or such as had been ministers before leaving England for this country. His wife had been widow of John Lovejoy. "He was a worthy and good character; a man of eminence and distinction in his day."

July 3. Recently some of the Mohawks had carried away the son of Uncas, though they had a treaty with the English.|| This event led the praying Indians, who feared lest they might be attacked by the Mohawks, to forsake their settlements and corn at Natick, Magunkog and Hassanamesitt. Resorting to such injurious means of self-preservation, some of them move to English plantations, Medfield, Concord, Cambridge and Chelmsford, where they supported themselves by their labor.

6. John Knowles, of London, addresses a letter to Governor Leverett.¶ He mentions a committee there, for the College here at Cambridge, and of a Mr. Smith, as a suitable architect to be

* Nantucket Papers, p. 110-13. † Mass. Gen. Ct. Rec. ‡ Salem Town Rec.

§ Magnalia, vol. ii. p. 235. Mass. Hist. Soc. Coll. 2 s. vol. iv. p. 58.

|| Gookin's Christian Indians, p. 519. ¶ Hutchinson's Coll. p. 514.

employed on the new College building. He desires that Mr. Illeginson, of Salem, may be requested to influence his congregation to contribute something for the support of Hugh Peters's widow, who had been maintained, since his execution, by Mr. Cockquaine and his church. He remarks: "The blessed God strengthen your heart and hand in that great work, which he hath called you to."

9. An order is issued by Governor Bradstreet to the keeper of the Boston prison. "Whereas there was one man and four women, Quakers,* committed to prison yesterday, being the Lord's day, for making an horrible disturbance, and affrighting the people in the South church in Boston, in the time of the public dispensing of the Word, whereby several women, as I am informed, are in great danger of miscarrying;"—they are to be kept until legally discharged, and others taken with them at their meeting, are to be dealt with according to the last law. The principal actor among these prisoners was Margaret Brewster, who came from Barbadoes. She had sent what she called "A warning from the great God of heaven and earth to the rulers and magistrates of Boston, in New England, that they put not in practice that cruel law that they have made concerning swearing." She was the chief leader† in the disturbance, for which the Governor's order was issued. Fancying that she could predict judgments on the people and in a prophetic manner, she conducted as William Coddington wrote, August 16, to Ralph Fretwell, of Barbadoes. She went "into Thacher's meeting in sackcloth, with ashes upon her head, and barefoot, and her face blacked. With her was Lydia Wright, of Long Island, and Sarah Miles and Elizabeth Bowen, Jr., and John Easton, Jr., who took her riding clothes and shoes, when she went into the house. The 4th of this month they were called before the Court at Boston, and she was sentenced to be whipped up and down the town with twenty lashes, and the three maids were to follow the cart." Easton was asked if he were a single man, and then released. The sentence was executed on the 9th.

Coddington continues: "The same day that the four above-mentioned were apprehended, these others were apprehended at their ordinary place of meeting, viz., Robert Edmunds, Edward Sheppey, John Soames, George Walker, Jeremy Deeble, George Danson, Miles Foster, Thomas Scott, Humphrey Hodges, William Neale, Bridget Phillips, Eliphal Stratton, Elizabeth Bowers, Sen. and Elizabeth Bowers, Jr. These were all of them whipped but

* Besse, vol. ii. p. 259, 60.

† On her trial, the Governor asked her, "Are you the woman that came into Mr. Thacher's meeting-house with your hair frizzled and dressed in the shape of a devil?" She answered, "I am the woman" who so came "with my hair about my shoulders, ashes upon my head, my face colored black, and sackcloth upon my upper garments." The constable said, "I thought her hair looked like a *periwig*." Increase Mather's Diary states that one of the women, thus frightened, died in consequence.

1677.]

Miles Foster and Thomas Scott, for some paid their fines, against their minds. The next meeting-day, these were whipped: Robert Edmunds, Edward Sheppey, John Soames, Miles Foster, William Richardson, Humphry Hodges, Jeremy Deeble, Thomas Hilbourn, Robert Levy, Josiah Southick, George Danson, William Mumford, Bridget Phillips, Eliphad Stratton and Ann Wilson. Three of these were strangers and masters of ships. The next meeting-day, seven of our "Friends" assembled, and many gathered with them. Neither then nor afterwards were they forbidden to meet for worship. It appears that the authorities had concluded to try the experiment of such toleration towards the Quakers, and perceiving it subsequently better than they had feared, allowed it an uninterrupted right. Thus, a source of bitter sorrow was closed for those who felt bound to execute law, and those who felt equally obligated to oppose it at any hazard.

In connection with his account of Margaret Brewster, Coddington gives the following. He states that with Governor Vane and himself, then a magistrate and treasurer of Massachusetts, there were, for two days in 1637, "the major part of the magistrates and deputies, against the banishment of John Wheelwright and Anne Hutchinson;" but that, on the third day, "the priests got two of the magistrates on their side, and so got the major part with them."

10. As the occasion of great affliction in Boston, Peter Hobart's Diary gives the subsequent fact. A ship arrives at Nantasket with the small pox. In consequence, more than eight hundred died. Increase Mather relates in his Diary more particulars. August. Small pox very sore. 8th. Fast observed for it. It raged most violently November 3, when there were notes to pray for eighty persons, eight lying dead, six buried, and thirty-eight had died in town with it in one week, to the first of the month. Next April 23, he states that his congregation gave public thanks for restoration of health to Boston.

25. Mr. Higginson, of Salem, makes the subsequent record.* "The Lord having allowed the Indians," at the Eastward, "to take no less than thirteen ketches of Salem and captivate the men, though divers of them cleared themselves and came home, it struck great consternation into all the people here, and it was agreed that the Lecture day should be kept as a Fast. The Lord was pleased to send in some of the ketches on the Fast day, which was looked on as a gracious smile of Providence. Also, nineteen wounded men had been sent to Salem a little while before. Also a ketch with forty men was sent out of Salem, as a man of war, to recover the rest of the ketches. The Lord gave them success."

August 4. The Quakers hold a monthly meeting† at the house of Josiah Southwick, in Salem. As an encouragement to the cause

* Salem First Ch. Rec.

† Friends' Record. Smith's N. J. p. 98, 102.

of this denomination in America, a Colony of them from England, arrive the 16th of this month at West Jersey. Similar emigrations followed.

14. A communication of Richard Blinman,* formerly a minister in New England, to Increase Mather, observes: "Your agents in London, have not so good a reception, as is desired, and that you will be like to lose your Patent."

16. A letter from Massachusetts bearing this date, and directed to Major John Talcott, of the Connecticut Council, complains that they had not come up to the line of duty, as implied by the principles of their Union, and thus defeat had come on the forces in Maine. It remarks: "Many eyes are looking upon us in this day of our adversity. Those that are wise hearted among ourselves, do with Eli, sit trembling to think of the Ark of God; and we fear there are too many, that would rejoice to see it delivered into the hands of the uncircumcised." An answer to it, of September 3d, takes a different view.

This is the date of a preface to "An historical discourse concerning the prevalency of prayer" in the late deliverance of New England "from the rage of the Heathen," by Increase Mather.

In the same year, this author published his "Relation of the troubles in New England by reason of the Indians," from 1614 to 1675.

This summer, as Gookin relates, part of the praying Indians† "were employed; some to scout with Lieut. Richardson upon the borders of the Merrimack, to watch the motions of the eastern enemy; others were sent to keep garrison in the east parts, as at Cocheco, York, Wells and Black Point; others went with a small army to Black Point, where eight of them were slain."

September 1. A letter is addressed in England, to the Governor‡ of "New England," or Massachusetts, by Peter Chamberlain, Sen., a seventh-day Baptist. He calls himself "Doctor of both Universities, and first and eldest physician in ordinary to his Majesty's person, according to the world, but according to grace, a servant of the word of God." He continues: "I have always had a love to the intended purity and unspotted doctrine of New England; for Mr. Cotton was of the same College and University, of Emmanuel in Cambridge, as I was, and so was Mr. Hooker and others, with whom we were all contemporary; and I never knew them but of a holy life and conversation. I also knew Colonel Humfrey, Sir Richard Saltonstall and Mr. Peters, who were of note among you, and Sir Henry Vane, who all had some share in the foundation of your government. But certainly, the first intentions were never to debar the truths of Scripture and liberty of conscience guided thereby; but to suppress sin and idolatry, and prevent all the

* Mather Papers. † Gookin's Chr. Ind. p. 519. ‡ Backus, vol. i. p. 476, 7.

1677.]

adulteries of Rome, to whom all things are lawful, especially lies in hypocrisy ; to promote their most damnable doctrines, covetous superstitions and blasphemous supremacy. It is great wisdom to suppress sin, but not oppress the liberty of a good conscience ; and whilst men grant liberty of conscience, not to admit liberty of sin. All magistrates have not attained to this wisdom, else England had been long since freed from popery and perjury."

This month a company of Mohawks, contrary to the stipulations between their nation and the Confederates, come down and show themselves hostile to the Christian Indians. A party of them captured two of their widow women, who were at Hassanamesitt. They, or others, killed Josiah Nowell, an Indian of good reputation, within a half mile of an English house at Sudbury. Pursuit was made after such aggressors, by English and Indians, but they escaped. The peril, thus occasioned, induced the Naticks and Pakemits to repair their forts.*

10. Urian Oakes preaches an Artillery Election sermon at Cambridge.† His text is Ecclesiastes ix. 11., and subject, "The Sovereign Efficacy of Divine Providence." In the application of this doctrine to the military hearers, he refers them to hard conflicts, which they had had with hostile Indians, as a lesson to teach them reliance on the help of God. He mentions that complaint is made, that when they meet for exercise in arms, there is too much smoking, carousing, swaggering and dishonoring the Lord. He proceeds: "It is one of the characters of a good soldier, Acts x. 2, to be a man of prayer. It were well if all our artillery and military gentlemen were men of this character." He advises them, that, while they try and hope for success, they would prepare for disappointments, of which, from the beginning of the war and subsequently, they had repeated experience. Of his closing remarks, is the injunction: "Follow your commander in chief, the Lord Jesus Christ. He was the greatest example that ever was, or will be in the world, of sobriety, gravity, seriousness and diligence in his work ; of prudent and prosperous management of his affairs ; of savory, gracious communication and holy conversation. Learn of him, and you shall be prosperous men indeed."

13. A committee of the Legislature, Daniel Denison, Joseph Dudley, Thomas Savage, Hugh Mason and Daniel Fisher, report on their proceedings with Messrs. Wheelwright, Pike and others, of the church at Salisbury. They relate that the original fault of Major Pike was not a plain matter of immorality, but his subsesequent contention ; his impeachment of the pastor, Mr. Wheelwright, and thereby much disturbance in the church and town ; his contemptuous treatment of the same minister, sudden withdrawal

* Gookin's Chr. Indians, p. 519, 20.

† Patres' New England.

from the church, and disregard for their judgment;—was wrong, and for all which, he is expected to make a “candid acknowledgment.” They mention that Mr. Wheelwright had been precipitate in pronouncing sentence of excommunication against said Pike, and thus occasioning a breach in the church. They are obliged to state that the conduct of those, belonging to the church and town, who petitioned the General Court to dismiss Mr. Wheelwright from his ministry, “by rendering him to be the cause of the disturbance, and that his ministry had a tendency to the inflaming the minds of people one against another—a practice of so dangerous a consequence, that not only the contrivers, but even those drawn therein ought to reflect upon with self-condemnation, which we expect to hear from them.” They find that the brethren with Major Pike are chargeable with a breach of communion and tendency to schism by espousing his cause. They consider those of Amesbury, who have been similarly involved, alike to blame. They advise all the parties to take a serious review of the subject, and desire that Mr. Wheelwright and his church may restore the Major to their communion on the acknowledgment mentioned; and that they, so receiving him, may see their error, as already intimated. They propose that the people harmonize in the choice of a “godly and learned person to assist their pastor in the work of his ministry, not abating his former maintenance among them.”

The same committee* assembled at Salisbury, October 30, to ratify the preceding advice. Having given a day to attendance on hearing the various statements of both parties, they, on collection of the assembly next morning, obtained their consent to have a settlement of their difficulties, as had been specifically laid before them.

19. A company of Indians from Canada,† who came with those that attack Deerfield and Hatfield, visit Wannalancet and his people, near Chelmsford, and take them away for their residence, except two men and their wives, one of whom was their minister, and a widow, who effected an escape. The subjects of Wannalancet, who departed with him, were fifty, of whom were eight men, and the rest women and children. Reasons for his leaving the territory of his fathers, were, that he had no sufficient means to defend his people against the Eastern Indians and the Maquas who were hostile to them; had little means for subsistence, because his planting soil had been occupied by the English; the party with whom he went away were his relatives, one of them being his wife's brother, and his son resided with the French. Gookin, who states

* Major — Appleton, of Ipswich, was with them at the latter time, and signed the report at Salisbury, as they did.

† Gookin's Christian Indians.

1677.]

these facts, observes of the Sachem, that he "made a profession of religion; was of a prudent and peaceable spirit."

About this time, Mr. Eliot held a lecture at Natick. He was accompanied by Gookin and other friends to the missionary cause. On this occasion, Waban made an address, which comprised some leading points in the experience of himself and other Indian converts. He remarked that before so destructive a conflict, they had been much encouraged by many Christians of Old and New England. After it began, they were in peril by the allies of Philip and by many of the Colonists, who were prejudiced against them, and they feared an utter extermination. The authorities, to save them, ordered that they take up their residence on Deer Island, and thus they were obliged to forsake their homes and substance, and look for "famine and nakedness." While so situated, the Lord raised up friends in England, who had them supplied with food and raiment; and the rulers here, with confidence in their faithfulness, which was generally suspected, employed some of their men to war with the enemy, which they did successfully. This brought them into favor with the many who had unjustly looked on them as ungrateful and treacherous. The close of Waban's speech says: "For all these things, we desire God only may be glorified."

Gookin replied to such observations. He stated, that Christ teaches all his disciples to bear the cross after him daily, and that there were bad Englishmen as well as bad Indians. He adds: "Let us leave this case to God, and wait upon him in a way of well-doing, patience, meekness and humility, and God will bring a good issue in the end, as you have seen and experienced." He then closes with the encouragement, that the Great Shepherd would accept his labors for these people, who, though despised by some, "are, through the grace of Christ, the first professors, confessors, if I may not say martyrs, of the Christian religion among the poor Indians in America."

25. To this date, from November 4, 1674, Roger Derby and wife Lucretia, were fined several times, as inhabitants of Ipswich, for absence on the Sabbath, from the Congregational worship. In the last year, a piece of land was taken to meet such demands, and afterwards they were ordered to prison, if they delayed to pay them. Some have supposed that they were Quakers, but they appear to me as though they were Episcopalians. They moved to Salem in 1681. He was ancestor of the Derbys, eminent as merchants in this place.

October 1. Samuel Whiting, of Lynn, writes to his cousin and brother in the ministry, Increase Mather. "Let me beg one request of you, that you would set pen to paper in writing a history of New England since the coming of our chief men hither, which you may do by conferring with Mr. Higginson and some

of the first planters in Salem and other places, which I hope you may easily accomplish, having by your diligence and search found out so much history concerning the Pequot War. And the rather let me entreat this favor of you, because it hath not been hitherto done by any in a polite and scholarlike way, which, if it were so done, would gladden the hearts of many of the Lord's people, and turn to your great account in the last and great day of the Lord Jesus."

2. The selectmen of Charlestown are licensed by the County Court to erect a cage "for the restraint of such as shall be taken in profaning the Sabbath, and other dissolute and disorderly persons."

A remonstrance of B. Bowers to the General Court last May is referred to Middlesex Court, who find no just exception against the sentence for his commitment to prison; and consider that his obstinacy against the laws, "making his appeal to England," has brought on him the sufferings of which he complains.*

7. Samuel Cheever, of the Marblehead church and congregation,† is received into the Salem church, being recommended by the Ipswich church. It appears that the members of the church to whom he preached still held their connection with those at Salem, who were considered as its parent church.

10. The Legislature convene.‡ They empower tythingmen to inspect public houses when they think necessary.

They appoint Thanksgiving on the 15th of November, in view of a plentiful harvest and a great diminution of the enemy's rage.

As an expression of their loyalty, they order a present for the King, consisting of "10 barrels of cranberries, 2 hogsheads of special good samp, and 3,000 cod-fish."

12. They address a letter to the Mohawk sachems. They state to them that six of their men, fully armed, were lately taken in the woods, near Boston; that these were imprisoned, but when ascertained to be Maquas, they were released; that they are disposed to continue the treaty, made with them of late in Albany, by Major Pyncheon, though some of their nation had recently killed a man and carried away two squaws of the Natick Indians; that they wish for such aggressors to make satisfaction and return the women, and no more harm to be done to their friends, the Indians, who had proved themselves faithful in the war; that they would reward any of the Mohawks who should pursue the Canada Indians that carried captives from Hatfield, and recover the latter; that they had been disappointed in not having their aid against the Eastern enemy.

In compliance with a petition from Hatfield, the Court desire the Governor to send letters by the six troopers, who are to guard

* Middlesex Ct. Rec.

† Salem First Ch. Rec.

‡ Gen. Ct. Rec.

1677.]

the six Mohawks on their way homeward, to the Governor of Canada and the Indians who had carried away some of their inhabitants, so that these might be restored to their families and friends.

22. The Legislature, while preparing communications for friends in London,* express the deep importance which they consider involved in their difficulties with the Crown. "We thought meet by this opportunity to represent to you the due sense we have or would manifest of the good hand of the Lord our God upon us in general, and yourselves in particular, in this affair of so great concernment to us in our spiritual and civil liberties and constitutions, that when the enemy struck at the foundation of these our precious things, manifested in the eighth article and otherwise, the Lord our God, (in whose hand is the King's heart and the management of all these our concerns,) we believe, hath made them (by this act) to begin to fall before his people, and therefore we hope they shall not prevail, but most surely, (as Haman's wise men told him;) and so we would take it as a matter of great thankfulness to our God. Though we yet have not what we expected or desired, or hope we may have, and further difficulties remain to be conflicted with, yet this beginning is more than we deserve, and would look upon it as an answer of prayer, and a token for good shewed us from the Lord."

After Jeremiah, son to Thomas Shepard of Cambridge, had preached at Rowley from February, 1673, amid experience of increasing opposition from part of his hearers, the parties receive a decision of their difficulty from a committee of the Legislature.† These conclude as to the singular purpose of some to settle him, though not having become legally qualified in the relations of freeman and church member, as follows: "The Court declare that they will not countenance any procedure or actings therein contrary to the laws of this Court, having therein made provision for the peace of the churches and a settled ministry in each town. And that all votes passed by any among them contrary thereto, are hereby declared null and void."

The same year Mr. Shepard ceased preaching at Rowley, he commenced the like service at Chebaaco, a part of Ipswich. Here the result was unhappy, as it had been in the former town. Joseph Dudley and others, a committee of the General Court, report their proceedings as to this trouble, June 11, 1680. They relate, that they had expressed to him his omission of union with some regular church, and advised him to perform this duty, "that he may with more general approbation labor in the work of the ministry;" that they recommended his friends to select a candidate for settlement, who should be likely to promote their best welfare; and that they presented John Wise, as the person whom

* Gen. Ct. Rec. † Ibid. Hist. of Rowley, p. 76, 7; of Ipswich, p. 258.

they had unanimously chosen. Mr. Shephard became a church member between October 15, 1679, and May 19, 1680, being declared a freeman at the latter date. He was ordained at Lynn, and was eminent in his profession.

Gookin speaks as follows of a distinguished person among the Christian Indians, who lived at Natick. "In this town they have residing some of their principal rulers, the chief whereof is named Waban, who is now seventy years of age. He is a person of great prudence and piety. I do not know any Indian that excels him." Though the decease of this individual, so desirably introduced, has been represented as in 1670 and 1674, yet he was among the witnesses against the conspiracy of Philip in April and afterwards in 1675, and was alive September 19, 1677. He probably died not long after this date. He left a wife, Tasunsquaw, daughter to Tahattawan, sachem of Musquiquid, or Concord. She was living in 1684. His son Thomas served the people of Natick, many years, as a Town Clerk. Shephard, of Cambridge, observed that the Indians gave "names to their children, usually, according to appearances of providences; and the most Indians for stirring up other Indians to seek after the knowledge of God in these parts is Waban, which signifies *wind*; although they never dreamt of this their Waban should breathe such a spirit of life and encouragement into the rest of the Indians, as he hath endeavored in all parts of the country, both at Concord, Merrimack, and elsewhere."*

22. A petition from Chebacco, in Ipswich, to the General Court, that they may continue meetings for worship, is referred to the town, who had opposed such a privilege as irregular.

23. John Eliot writes to Robert Boyle,† as President of the Missionary Corporation: "The poor praying Indians do thankfully acknowledge that (under God our heavenly Father, and under Jesus Christ our Redeemer, who redeemeth us out of all our troubles) you have been the means and instruments in his hands, to save and deliver us. God moved your hearts to own us in that black day, when we were almost ready to be swallowed up in destruction. Many of our aged, decrepid, fatherless and widows, still wear the garments which your charity did, the last winter, clothe us withal. Understanding that some doubt is raised about your countenancing and encouraging our rulers, who are of us, and live among us, and without whose presence and assistance, the Lord's work of soul-instruction and edification will soon faint, sink and come to nothing, our humble petition is, first, to God, that he who hath hitherto, would still move your hearts for our welfare; and next, our petition is unto yourselves, that we may have the countenance of your favour, to countenance and own our rulers among us, without whose

* Hist. of Concord, p. 28, 9.

† Birch's Life of Boyle.

1677.]

countenance, our teachers will be of little power, especially among our youth and rising generations, who do not yet savor the things of the gospel of Jesus Christ; and among strangers, who have not yet tasted how good the Lord is, though for their protection and safety, they have crowded in upon us.

"In our first war with the Indians, God pleased to show us the vanity of our military skill in managing our arms after the European mode. Now we are glad to learn the skulking way of war.

"The Governor of New York sent a strength this summer, and took possession of a northern post, where they fixed and fortified themselves, since whose coming the Indians have not stirred much. Whether their intention be to promote religion, or only trading, I know not."

Eliot continues as follows: "It pleased the Lord very lately to permit a small handful, not twenty, of the late scattered rod, to make a sore disruption upon Hadley and Deerfield, where about twelve persons were killed, more than twenty carried away captive or lost, seven dwellings burned, and sundry barns full of corn; and since, they have appeared at Hadley and burned the mill. These last actions have very much discouraged our people from repairing the destroyed towns, which some were beginning to do."

"We had a Sachem of the greatest blood in the country, submitted to pray to God a little before the wars. His name is Wanalancet. In the time of the wars he fled, by reason of the wicked actings of some English youth, who causelessly and basely killed some of them. He was persuaded to come in again. But the English having ploughed and sown with rye all their lands, they had but little corn to subsist by. A party of French Indians, of whom some were of the kindred of this Sachem's wife, very lately fell upon this people, being but few and unarmed, and partly by persuasion, partly per force, carried them all away. One, with his wife, child and kinswoman, who were of our praying Indians, made their escape, came in to the English, and discovered what was done. These things keep some in a continual disgust and jealousy of all the Indians."

24. John Leverett writes to Earl Frontinac, of Canada. He states that Indians from that quarter, pretending to be Mohawks, on the 19th of September, killed and wounded some of our people and took prisoners of others. He desires him to discourage such expeditions, and assist the bearers in obtaining the liberty of our Christian captives.

November 18. Mr. Higginson, of Salem, reads a vote of the town,* dated 9th, that a contribution be taken for the poor every Sabbath, and that the individuals, unable to give money, may put on paper what they will otherwise give.

* Salem First Ch. Rec.

December 3. Mr. Bailey, pastor of the Salem Village church, is admitted to the Salem church, the former being still a branch of the latter. He presented a letter of dismission from the Newbury church.

18. John Russell, John Wilson, Sen., and Caleb Farlow, are fined as Baptists, for neglect of authorized worship.* George Polly, the wife of John Wilson, Sen., John Wilson, Jr., Timothy Brooks, Francis Wiman, Aaron Cleaveland, and Hlopestill Foster, are admonished, and ordered to pay costs for a similar charge.

Benanuel Bowers, and his wife Elizabeth, are ordered to pay £5 each, or be whipped openly fifteen stripes apiece, for reproaching and slandering Thomas Danforth. They are to be committed till their sentence is executed.

Daniel Gookin, of Cambridge, dates his account of the praying Indians to the Society in England, who support missions among them. The same month, it was approved by John Eliot as correct.

22. Thomas Shepard, minister of Charlestown, dies of the small pox. He was son to Thomas, of Cambridge, born in London, April 5, 1635, graduated at Harvard College, 1653, and ordained colleague with Mr. Symmes, April 13, 1659. He married Hannah Tyng, November 3, 1656. She and three children, Thomas, Anna and Margaret, survived him. His Election Sermon of 1672, is quoted under that year. There are several volumes of his manuscript sermons in the American Antiquarian Library. An elegy of his, on John Norton, is published in Morton's Memorial. The disease which proved his death, was prevalent among his parishioners. It was then dreaded as the plague. One of his flock sick with it, desired a visit from him. He complied, expecting that the contagion would attack him, and fearing that it would terminate his life. One of the elegies, occasioned by his decease, says:

"Rather than run from his work, he chose to die,
Running on death, sooner than duty fly."

At the next commencement, President Oakes, in a Latin oration, spoke of him as follows: "He was possessed of undissembled piety and uncommon learning, united with modesty, amiable manners, and noted industry. His countenance was grave, his words well considered and weighty, and his gestures becoming and unaffected. He was of a very sedate turn, sincere and open, possessed of a fertile mind, and a penetrating judgment, and distinguished for the mildness and sweetness of his manners."

28. The Council address letters to ministers and selectmen of towns, as to bringing in the remainder of subscriptions for the College brick edifice.

This year Increase Mather publishes a discourse on the renewal of the covenant, the duty of decaying and distressed churches.

* MS. Middlesex Ct. Rec.

1678.]

1678. January. The Baptists of Boston and vicinity, who had agreed to form themselves into two churches,* conclude to defer such a separation till they can obtain a suitable ministry. They also decide to have a new meeting-house. They had the labors of Messrs. Russell and Miles, and thought of settling one or the other of them.

21. Thomas Thacher, minister, of Boston, dates "a brief rule to guide the common people of New England how to order themselves and theirs in the small pox or measles." It is printed on one side of a sheet of paper.

February 21. A public Fast is observed, because of small pox in some towns; fears of further trouble with hostile Indians; and in behalf of the agents in England, by order of Council.

March 7. Elders, met at the lecture in Boston,† have the following question laid before them by some brethren of the church at Woburn. "There being one that was in his infancy in Woburn church, that when adult, did receive rebaptization from a person belonging to that disorderly society of Anabaptists, lately combined amongst us. This rebaptize now desiring to join the church in Woburn, the question is whether the church ought to receive him into their communion until such time as he doth acknowledge his offence in the matter mentioned." The Elders reply: "The person in question hath been guilty of violating plain, clear rules in the Scripture, which he ought to see and acknowledge before admission into the church. He hath made himself one with that disorderly society of Anabaptists, combined to the disturbance both of civil and ecclesiastical order. Anabaptism, though a pretended friend, hath been a fatal enemy to the interest of the Reformation, wherever it hath sprung up. Witness Stockholm, Munster and other places. Mr. Baxter, in his treatise of Infant Baptism, testifieth, that when he lived at Coventry, they were, at first, very indulgent towards the Anabaptists, as hoping they might be honest, well-meaning men, but afterwards, they saw a sad consequence of their too much indulgence. It is famously known that an excess of indulgence towards Socinian Anabaptists hath been the ruin of the churches in Transylvania." This shows the reason why, at this period, the ministers of the allowed order, were so opposed to Baptists, lest, if becoming sufficiently numerous, they would overturn the institutions of the country. But, happily for the general good, such fears were not realized in those Baptists, who were the occasion of them, nor have they been in their successors. It is true that the most of these deny the churches who practice infant baptism, and this ordinance by way of sprinkling,‡ to be of regular foundation, and not admissible to communion with them. Had they first settled our Puritan

* Backus, vol. i. p. 480.

† Mather MS.

churches, and had no greater light than the age afforded, and perceived others coming among them, who renounced their close communion and thus declared all their churches to be without true foundations; there can be little doubt, that such intruders would have experienced treatment severe as that of their fathers, when first setting up here their claims to immersion.

March 27. In the correspondence of Increase Mather, a note says there is "an engrossed bill for the better and more speedy discovery of Popish recusants, read and ordered to a second reading" in Parliament. Soon after this, another letter to him states that Parliament are more against Papists than the Non-conformists. The cause of this was the discovery of what was called the Popish plot "to take away the King's life, to subvert the constitution, to introduce Popery and to extirpate the Protestant religion, root and branch." The King disbelieved it, and remarked to Lord Halifax, "that it was not probable that the Papists should conspire to kill him, for have I not been kind enough to them?" (says his Majesty.) "Yes," (says his Lordship,) "you have been too kind indeed to them; but they know you will only trot, and they want a prince that will gallop." The Papists were well aware that, however Charles was of their religion at heart, yet he was not so strenuous for it as his brother James. They too often acted on the principle, that the end justifies the means.

The Elders of the Boston Lecture, continue their remarks. "Different apprehensions among ourselves about the subjects of baptism are alleged, some being for the immediate seed, some for the grand-children, and some no children."

"Our ministers have pressed for a well-bounded toleration." Answer. "This plea ought not to be used for all toleration. If bounded, it must not exceed; and what shall stop it, if scandal do not."

"Whereas it is intimated as if that extent of baptism, which is pleaded for in the late Synod-book, were a declension from the principles of our fathers, the contrary is sufficiently evinced in a book, printed three years ago, called the first principles of New England, concerning the subject of baptism and communion of churches."

"It is scandalous for any to say, men are fined for their judgments."

April. Among answers of our Agents, Bulkley and Stoughton, in London, to Royal authorities, is the following: "The doctrines of religion fully agree with the church of England; but the discipline and government are congregational."

Replies are given by William Jones and Francis Winnington to objections laid before them by the Lords of the Committee of trade and plantation.

1. "The people of Massachusetts Colony have not any legal

1678.]

charter at all." Answer. "Whether the case should not be truly stated" to his Majesty's two chief Justices, before whom it had been laid.

2. "That, by reason of several irregularities there was, about 1635, a quo-warranto brought for the dissolution of such charter as they had. That the prosecution thereof went far, and stopped only on account of the public troubles ensuing." Answer. That such a process did not dissolve the Charter.

3. If the Charter be good, yet has not the conduct of its possessors forfeited "the same, so as to be now in his Majesty's mercy and disposal." Answer. Were the misdemeanors, charged upon Massachusetts, committed since the act of oblivion and proved, they would be sufficient to vacate the charter through a quo-warranto.

The Committee of Plantations make various requisitions of Massachusetts, which, if enforced, must impair their Church as well as State liberties. Part of them follow. Though his Majesty may grant, on due application, a charter to the Colony, which shall allow the coining of money, "yet they must solicit his Majesty's pardon," for having done this thing. "The acts of navigation for the future, be rigidly observed. That no taxes should be raised but with his Majesty's approbation, in his name, and applied by his appointment to the use of the government. And above all, that the method of swearing all to be true to that government, should be abolished." The Committee propose, that for rendering the rulers of Massachusetts more obedient to the Crown, they must be under a "governor wholly supported by his Majesty."*

April 8. In his reply to the queries of the Lords of Plantations,† Andros says that Massachusetts tolerate only "Presbyterians and Independents," and that they had no Episcopal church among them.

9. The Agents of New England are required by the King's Council to answer the petition of Sir Edmund Andros,‡ making the following statement. In the late war, he subjugated the Eastern Indians at the cost of his Royal Highness, and strictly prohibited the sale of powder and other ammunition. Yet Massachusetts in their declaration, issued 1675, and in books printed since, asserted that Phillip and his followers were supplied with ammunition by people of Albany. Of this Andros complains and asks satisfaction, which he says Massachusetts will not render him. Still there is proof in the minutes and papers of Andros's New York Council, that, though he may not have tolerated such a supply, it was furnished by traders of that place.

27. The King writes to the Governor and Council.§ He forbids

* Chalmers, p. 436-41.
Easton's Philip's War.

† Plantation Rec.
§ Hutchinson's Coll. p. 516, 6.

‡ Royal Council Rec.

the continuance of an oath of fidelity to the country here, revived the last October, as disrespectful to him, and a snare to some of his subjects in the Colony. He commands them to have the oath of allegiance, as established by law in England, administered to all the inhabitants of Massachusetts.

May 8. A committee are appointed by General Court to inquire after the persons, who by word or writing, have slandered the Government here, in England.*

9. Joseph Brown dies. He was son of William Brown, of Salem. He graduated at Harvard, 1666, where he became a Fellow, 1672. This office he resigned September 15, 1673. He was made freeman the same year. After the decease of Mr. Symmes, of Charlestown, he assisted the surviving colleague, Mr. Shepard, in the ministry. He was dismissed February 19, 1675, from Salem church to the Charlestown church. He married Elizabeth Brenton, daughter to Gov. Brenton, of Rhode Island. She deceased September 14, 1676. Soon after the death of Mr. Shepard, December 22, 1677, Mr. Brown was renewedly and unanimously called to settle over the bereaved flock. On further consideration, he gave a negative answer and soon moved to Boston, where he closed his life. He was distinguished as a scholar, Christian and preacher.

June 3. The Artillery Election Sermon is preached by Samuel Nowell. It was printed from notes of an auditor, because the preacher's right hand had mostly lost its use. The text was from Genesis xiv. 14,—"Abraham in arms." The author observed in a note, that he allowed the discourse to be published "to revive our military discipline, and the spirit of soldiery, which seems to be in its wane, in an age when never more need of it." A passage seems to bear on the violent proceedings in England to take away the Colony from the rule of our fathers. "There is such a thing as liberty and property given to us, both by the laws of God and men. When these are invaded, we may defend ourselves. God hath not given great ones in the world, that absolute power over men, to devour them at pleasure. He hath set rulers their bounds, and by his law hath determined liberties and property. If we have that, that is our right and due; it is not another's being stronger can make our right null and void." He remarks, that as nations were providentially left in Canaan to try Israel and keep them prepared for defence, so it was with the Indians left in New England for similar purposes relative to the Colonists. "The wall, the strength of this little Commonwealth," under God, have been our soldiers. "Our readiness and expertness in military exercise, is that for which we have been famed abroad in other countries, both among Dutch and French. What the Governor of Manadus saw in that little time when he was here, gave us no small credit in Holland."

* Gen. Ct. Rec.

1678.]

The preacher assigns reasons why the people should be prepared for war. "There are none of the Princes of note in Europe, that have any interest in America, but have long had their Espysals upon us. Rome will have no peace with you, and you ought to have no peace with it. That Rome's agents are abroad at work is plain. If their counsels should sway the world, it is a vain thing for us to promise ourselves peace." The continuance of Indians in the land, "as thorns in our sides," demands military discipline. The policy of intermarrying with them, as done by the French, "not far from us," is not likely to be exercised by the English. "So servile are some, that they will pay tribute to heathens, rather than endure a little difficulty. Low spirited men. Let them have Issachar's lot, that make his choice." "Put on the whole armor of God. That is the way to make a good soldier. If the breast-plate of righteousness be not on, if men have guilty consciences, they will find and feel the sad effects of it, when they come to be in danger."

27. In a communication of Mrs. Jane Hook, in England, she mentions that she had previously sent over second-hand clothes for poor ministers here, and that she now repeats the like kindness.*

July 28. Being the Lord's day, the congregation at Charlestown "were staid to desire their consent to the action of the church," who had recently given a call to Messrs. Daniel Russell and Thomas Shepard to settle in the ministry with them.†

August 4. Mrs. Baldwin, a French lady, from the Isle of Jersey, who had testimonials from French ministers, and had resided in Salem several years, reads a confession of faith, in her own language, to the church of this town, which was translated by Richard Croad and read by the pastor. After such a requisition, she is admitted as a member of the church.‡

9. Richard Blinman dates a letter§ to Increase Mather. He says: "I shall adventure to give you this hint under the rose, that I fear an inhabitant of your country would fain be Lord paramount over all the Colonies. *Sat. verb. sap.*" The writer probably intended Edmund Andros, then Governor of New York, in connection with Pemaquid, Nantucket and Martha's Vineyard.

22. An account is given by the Council, of contributions by towns in Massachusetts, New Hampshire and Maine, amounting to £345 1s. 4d., for charges in redeeming and bringing back the captives, who were taken at Hatfield, September 19, 1677, and carried to Canada. Other donations had been made in several western towns, which were not received.

Increase Mather dates an introduction to his discourse, entitled, "Pray for the rising generation." He observes: "Our fathers were, some of them, eminent confessors, and, in a degree, martyrs

* Mather MS. † Ch. Rec. ‡ First Ch. Rec. Salem. § Mather MS.

of Jesus, who left a pleasant land and fathers' houses, to follow the Lord into a wilderness, into a land which was not sown. Yea, and they came hither partly with respect to their offspring, that they might leave their children under the special blessing of God in Christ Jesus. Hath not the Lord peculiar blessings for such children? Let us pray them down from heaven." With regard to this sermon, the author made the subsequent remark: "Four years ago you set apart a day for no other cause, but only that so you might, by fasting and prayer, cry unto the Lord for converting grace to be poured down upon the souls of our poor children. You were told, that within seven years before, near eighty persons had presented themselves and declared before the church what God had done for their souls." "Since that day upwards of seventy persons, mostly young, have given evidence of piety, and a considerable number more are serious."

31. A Council assemble composed of Rev. John Woodbridge, Seaborn Cotton, John Richardson, Samuel Phillips, Thomas Cobbet, John Hale, Joseph Gerrish, and John Higginson. In their result, they say: "Hugh March, of Newbury, having proposed a question to us, as a case of conscience, desiring our resolution of it, we shall first state it, and then do our endeavor to resolve it. He married a wife, supposed to be a widow, which her friends confidently affirmed to him that she was, and coming to Mr. Symonds, the Deputy Governor, and being demanded after the usual manner, and charged, that if she knew any just impediment of their marriage, she should discover it, she answered none. Whereupon the said March completed the marriage, enjoyed her as his wife for some time, but hearing, not long since, that her former husband was alive, which when he fully understood, he abstained from her as his wife. Her former husband had lived away from her for some years, being employed in such affairs in Virginia and elsewhere, as pertained to his livelihood, but being very lately at Boston, the said March saw him, brought them together; they discoursed one with the other, whereby it is infallibly evidenced, that he is alive. Whence the question proposed is this: Whether the said March may in conscience accept and retain her as his wife?" In the course of their remarks, the Council do not seem to have understood that the absent husband willfully neglected his wife, or that any misconduct was imputed to either of them. Their conclusion was, that she was the lawful wife of him and not of March. In connection with this, they remark: "Though it should be alleged that the second (husband) may keep her with the consent of the first, we suppose, that wives are not such possessions as may be parted with at men's pleasure; they are one flesh." They state that no similar case had occurred among them.

September 30. John Higginson addresses a letter to Increase

1678.]

Mather.* He states that he has not read the law respecting the Sabbath, to his congregation, since the last September and March, because he thinks that such services tend to lessen the usefulness of ministers on account of the penalties which the act demands, and that it should be done by civil officers. He desires Mather, if looking at the case as he does, to consult with the Boston ministers about petitioning the Legislature for a corresponding alteration. He remarks that he has read his First Principles on Baptism, and that the churches are obligated to him for the work; that he had heard Mr. Bond ("who they say is coming") had answered it, and that its author had replied, and that he wished to peruse both of these productions.

October 2. A session of the General Court commences. The Governor reads to them his Majesty's letter and the oath of allegiance with which it was accompanied, and which he, the Deputy, Assistants, and Secretary, took in August. He also communicates letters to them from our agents in London. In view of their extraordinary trials in reference to the Government of England, the Court designate the 9th of the month to seek the face of the Lord. They desire Elders to conduct the services of the occasion, and Mr. Oakes to give them a word of exhortation. They order all his Majesty's subjects of the Colony, being sixteen years old and upwards, to take the oath of allegiance, as required by the law of his kingdom. A passage of this oath follows: "I do from my heart abhor, detest and abjure, as impious and heretical, this position, that Princes, who be excommunicated or deprived by the Pope, may be deposed or murdered by their subjects, or any other whatsoever: and I do believe, and in my conscience am resolved, that neither the Pope nor any person whatsoever hath power to absolve me of this my oath, or any part thereof, which I acknowledge, by good and full authority to be lawfully ministered unto me, and do renounce all pardons and dispensations to the contrary."

Having accepted the contract for the Province of Maine, they empower the Treasurer to pay the amount stipulated.

In compliance with the suggestion by Commissioners of the Confederacy, at Hartford, in September, the Court appoint a public Fast the 21st of November, for the subsequent purposes.† That the people may be humbled before God for the tokens of his displeasure against them; that they may be pardoned and reconciled with him; that he would be with them as with their fathers; that he would not remove the gospel from them, and would continue their civil and religious privileges; that "a spirit of conversion may be poured out upon" their "children, that they may give up themselves and their seed after them to be the Lord's, willingly subjecting themselves to all his holy rules and government in his house," and that he would be with them in their low estate.

* Mather MS.

† Gen. Ct. Rec.

16. The Court agree on an address* to the King. They speak of his having confirmed their Charter, forgiven the errors which he charged against them, and declared his disposition to promote the trade and happiness of the Colony. They engage to manifest their regard for him, and hope that he will cherish no evil impressions against them, through false representations. They had acted for accomplishing the ends of the Plantation, and had lately defended it at great expense of blood and treasure, at their own charge, which ends, they believe, cannot be advanced by any alteration in their present Government. They desire that their agents may be dismissed, and not be compelled to answer complaints "made by unquiet spirits." They engage to satisfy his Majesty, with regard to complaints against the Colony, since the act of oblivion. For mistakes of forty-eight years, especially of their infancy or of "the times of the late confusion," meaning, as we remember, the period between the deposition of Charles I., and the restoration of his son, they crave pardon of the latter. They mention to the King that they have repealed their oath of fidelity, which was offensive to him, and have taken the one of allegiance, as prescribed by a law of England, and ordered it to be administered to the rest of the Colonists.

The Court consider objections to them, made by the Crown Solicitor. As to applying the word, Commonwealth, to the Colony, they observe, that though it has not been thus used in contempt or opposition to royal authority, they have not lately applied it so, and intend to have it discontinued. Concerning the case of the Quakers, they remark as follows: When this denomination first came hither, they trampled on civil and ecclesiastical laws; denounced the authorities with fearful curses in the name of the Lord; insinuated their heresies, making divisions among the people. The Rulers, for the sake of preserving the Colony from ruin, were compelled to make a law, banishing them on pain of death, which they transgressed, and some suffered the penalty, "yet so that till the very last, it was offered them, that if they would quietly depart and promise not to return, they should be dismissed, which they refused." The individuals who were executed, were thus dealt with no more for their religion, than the Jesuits and Seminary Priests were in the reign of Queen Elizabeth or King James, who, as well known, suffered justly for contempt of the laws of the Realm.

With regard to allegations from the Lords of trade and plantations against them, the Court observe as follows: Laws accounted contrary to those of England, were not thought to be so when passed, and they shall be repealed, "except such as the repealing thereof will make us to renounce the professed cause of our first coming hither." This proviso, expressing the firm purpose of our

* Gen. Ct. Rec.

1678.]

fathers to keep their religious Commonwealth alive as long as possible, must have been offensive to the Court party, who had strong checks upon them, and meant to drive them at their pleasure. The Legislature add, No laws shall be enacted in the Colony without the King's "express and particular license."

The Court vote a communication for the Agents in England. They remark that however beneficial the occupation of New England by the fathers was, in keeping it from the hands of the French and Dutch; and however the Crown exchequer was much profited by the commerce of this country, yet such considerations were of far less importance than "the interest of the Lord Jesus and his churches in this wilderness." They hope the King will allow them to continue the coining of money, because useful to their trade, and that they will change the impress of it if he desire. They observe that the country is greatly impoverished by the late Indian war, sickness and mortality; that they owe many thousands of pounds, borrowed here and in England. They state that the King's arms are ordered "to be carved by an able artist and erected in the court house."

The Legislature designate a committee to meet other committees from the two confederates at Plymouth, to agree on the sale of lands conquered from the Indians, as proposed by Commissioners of the Union.

Thomas Thacher, first minister of the Old South church in Boston, dies. He was son of Rev. Peter Thacher, of Old Sarum, England, and was born May 1, 1620. He came to Boston, June 4, 1635, and was educated by Pres. Chauncy. He was ordained as successor of Mr. Newman, at Weymouth, January 2, 1645. He moved to Boston, where he was installed, February 16, 1670. He married a daughter of Rev. Ralph Partridge, May 11, 1643. She died June 2, 1664. He had three sons and one daughter. The last, named Elizabeth, was married to Capt. Nathaniel Davenport, killed while storming Narragansett fort, in 1675, and she was contracted to become the wife of Samuel Davis, in 1677, who belonged to Boston, and was commander of the ship Gabriel. His Fast Sermon, and Guide in the small pox and measles, have been mentioned. He was well skilled in the Hebrew and Arabic. In the former language he composed a lexicon of the principal words. He was noted as a scholar, physician and divine. The great end of his desires, prayers and labors, was to benefit his fellow-beings and honor the cause of God.

November 5. A Council meet at Charlestown to compromise difficulties there in the church, relative to the calling of Daniel Russell and Thomas Shepard, to settle in the ministry with them. It consisted of three Boston churches, and those of Cambridge and Watertown. The result is not known. One unintentional

cause of the trouble, Mr. Russell, was removed by death in a few weeks.

12. Thomas Cobbet, of Ipswich, writes to Increase Mather. "I know no other external means left to further our reformation, but a solemn renewing of covenant with God, by all and every of our respective churches; which, alas! I see little likelihood to be fully and freely yielded unto. For my own part, I did, in conscience to my duty, essay to persuade unto it here," but two leading men prevented.

December 18. Benanuel Bowers,* still neglecting lawful worship, continues to be fined.

The Old South church vote,† this year, that if any exhibit evidence of piety, and are indisposed to give a relation of their experience before the church, they may be excused in this particular, provided they do it to the elders, and these certify their approbation to the church, and they may be received as members thereof, with the proviso, "that in other cases the common and constant practice shall be attended." Mr. Wisner says that this rule was not complied with only in having the verbal or written relations made before the church, until about 1700, when it became common for the minister to hand in such relations.

The missionary, Eliot, publishes his "The Harmony of the Gospels in the holy history of the humiliation and sufferings of Jesus Christ, from his incarnation to his death and burial." A short description of this work is given as follows, by the supervisors of the press: "We having perused this pious discourse concerning the sufferings of Christ, and observed the diligence and prudence of the gracious and worthy author in compiling it, it having, in reading it, both affected and edified us: We are persuaded, through the blessing of Him that hath put it into the heart of the reverend author to lay himself this way, it will serve to promote the honor of Jesus Christ, and the good of souls, and do therefore affix our *Imprimature*."—Thomas Thacher, Urian Oakes, James Allen, Increase Mather.

The History of Baptism is published in London by J. St. N. He describes himself as having been "an adventurer in the first plantation. A sympathizer in their joys, fears and sorrows." He addresses the work to the governors and ministers of "the colonies and plantations in New England, especially such of the old planters as are yet living."

Benjamin Blackman, after preaching for the people of Malden four years, discontinues his labors among them and leaves the place. He was son of Rev. Adam Blackman, of Stratford, Ct., graduated at Harvard College, 1663, and married Sarah Scottow, April 1, 1675. He went to Scarborough, Maine, and preached

* Middlesex Ct. Rec.

† Wisner's Discourses, p. 58, 9.

1675.]

there. He was representative from Saco, 1683, where he was a large land-holder. In 1688, he presented his claim on Malden for arrears. When his stirring life closed, we are not informed.

 PLYMOUTH.

1675. March 1. Mary Atkinson, on petition of her father,* Edward Jenkins, is divorced from her husband, Marmaduke Atkinson, who had absented himself seven years from her and made no provision for her support.

On petition of proprietors of lands at Saconett and adjacent places, they are allowed to form a township there and establish orders for the well-being thereof, "especially for the settling of a society for the worship of God and matters in the Commonwealth."

. April 1. By consent of the First church at Scituate,† their pastor, Nicholas Baker, "signed an instrument of reconciliation with the Second church" of the same town. This church now returned to the sprinkling of infants in baptism, from which they had been drawn by the arguments of President Dunster. Thus closed a controversy of thirty-three years standing.

May 26. William Blackstone dies. When coming to New England about fifty years before, he was an Episcopal clergyman. In 1634, he received from each inhabitant of Boston, 6/., and from some, more, for his claim as the first occupant of the place. With the amount so received, he bought cattle and moved to Pawtucket river, afterwards known by his own surname, a few miles northward from Providence, Rhode Island. He married the widow Sarah Stephenson, July 4, 1659, as the Boston record states. She died in the middle of June, 1673. He left a son-in-law, John Stephenson, who, in June of 1675, was granted land by Plymouth Colony, where probate was had on his estate. He lived a retired and studious life. His dissatisfaction with Congregationalism, as well as with Episcopacy, was a probable cause why his intercourse with the prominent men of his time, was so very limited. Still he enjoyed the privilege to know from Revelation, that right motives and life, whether hidden from, or exposed to the gaze of the world, were sure passports to heavenly glory.

In compliance with advice from the Commissioners of the Union, the General Court‡ of Plymouth appoint Thomas Hinckley to call and keep courts among the praying Indians of their juris-

* Plymouth Col. Rec. † History of Scituate. ‡ Plym. Rec. and Laws.

diction, and "with the chief" of them to make orders for their government.

They order that every town shall have a house "comfortably to meet in to worship God;" and if any such corporation neglect the duty, the Governor and magistrates are empowered to have it done "according to the ability and necessity of the people," and the charge thereof to be paid by the proprietors and inhabitants of the town. During the season of public danger, all who bear arms, shall bring them, with ammunition, to meeting on the Lord's day. William Wood, of Marshfield, for speaking contemptuously of the Rev. Mr. Arnold, on the Sabbath, is sentenced to sit two hours in the stocks, the next training day at that town.

John Arther, Matthew Boomer and John Leyton, charged with living in the Colony without leave, neglecting public worship, "living lonely and in a heathenish way from good society,"—are ordered to reform in these respects or depart from the jurisdiction.

June 1. Three Indians, charged with the murder of John Sassamon, preacher, on the 29th of January, at Assawamsett pond, "by striking him, or twitching his neck until he was dead, and did cast his body through a hole in the ice, into the said pond,"—are tried at Plymouth, brought in guilty and condemned to be executed. As well known, the cause of this crime was, that Sassamon, as his oath of fidelity required, informed Governor Winslow that Philip had planned an insurrection to destroy the Colonists of New England. The names of the three criminals are Tobias, Waumpassaum his son, and Mattushamaina. The first and third were hung on the 8th of June. The son, being reprieved for a month, was shot within this time. Thus tragedy, commenced by hatred to the Christian religion, opens her dark scene to involve the whole of New England.

The person so murdered, as Increase Mather informs us, had parents who dwelt at Dorchester, and died Christians. He was educated, and in part of his course, at the College, under the patronage of the Missionary Society in England. He was afterwards schoolmaster with the Indians of Natick. For some offense he left that place and went to live with Philip, who made him his secretary and one of his counsellors. Remaining here several years, he was prevailed on by Eliot, his spiritual father, to change his situation. Mr. Mather, already named, relates that Sassamon became reconciled with "the praying Indians, was baptized and received as a member into one of their churches, yea and employed amongst them every Lord's day." This society dwelt at Middleborough, near Assawamsett pond, where he lost his life. He had married the daughter of Tuspequin, a sachem, one of his hearers, who had given him land there for his own use. From Philip and other conspirators, who called on him, he learned their design, and he felt bound to give the information to Plymouth authorities,

1675.]

"that not only the Wampanoags, but Narragansetts, yea and the Mohegans were involving themselves in this conspiracy." He desired the Governor to keep the discovery secret, or else he should perish. His prediction was sadly verified. Being soon missed, his remains were sought and found, as previously stated, and left to a jury, who confirmed the suspicion. An Indian, named Patuckson, standing on a hill, saw the deed committed. For some time, fear kept him silent; but at length, he testified that he beheld Tobias, a counsellor of Philip, and the two others killing Sassamon. Gookin remarked: "Thus much I may say, that this John Sassamon was the first Christian martyr of the Indians; for it is evident he suffered death on account of his Christian profession and fidelity to the English."

Morton in his MS. speaks of Samuel Hicks as dying about the time of the Indian war; that as a deacon of Plymouth church, he had embraced "the error of anabaptistry;" absented himself from worship at times; become a Quaker and was excommunicated. Hicks expected Apostles would appear; doubted government of the church; singing psalms in a book; ordination of church officers; administration of the seal of baptism; preaching; support of ministers by parishioners; the settlement of a church and ordinances without a ministry sent from God.

July 4. Governor Winslow writes* to Governor Leverett. "We know not any thing from us, that might put Philip upon these motions, nor have heard that he pretends to have suffered any wrong from us, save only that we had killed some Indians and intended to send for himself for the murder of John Sassamon. The last that was executed this week, confessed that he saw the other two do the murder. Neither had we any thoughts to command him about it."

26. Another letter of Winslow is addressed to the same correspondent. "My person, I hear, has been much threatened by Indians. I have about twenty men at my house; have sent my wife and children to Salem, that I may be less incumbered; have flanked my house, and resolve to maintain it as long as a man will stand by me."

September 9. The Plymouth Commissioners make a report† before those of the other two Colonies, in session at Boston, deeply involving the interest of both Church and State.

Last winter, John Sassamon, a faithful Indian, informed that Philip was exerting himself to "engage all the Sachems round about in a war against us." Some of the English, living near Philip, expressed their fears of like import. Sassamon was killed about a week after he had made such a communication. Having heard that the Governor of Plymouth had received information

* Hutchinson's MS.

† Hazard's Coll. p. 532-4.

against him, and intended to have him arraigned at the next Court, Philip came to Plymouth shortly before the session of the Court, in the beginning of March. "The Council, upon a large debate with him, had great reason to believe that the information against him might be in substance true." They stated to him, that if further proof should appear, they might require him to deliver up his arms for their security. Hoping that the discoveries unfavorable to him would make him desist from further attempts at insurrection, they dismissed him in a friendly manner.

Soon after this interview, when many Indians were examined as to the death of Sassamon, but gave no positive testimony, an Indian appeared who saw three men kill him. These persons were secured for trial at the next Court in June. A short time before the session in this month, Philip began to keep his men in arms, and collect strangers about him, and march them towards the upper part of the neck on which he lived, and near to English houses. In consequence, a military watch was kept in the adjacent towns, as Rehoboth and Swansey.

While the murderers were being tried, the authorities of Plymouth were told that Philip was in arms with his people. But they supposed that he did this in fear of being apprehended himself and brought to trial, and that if the Court closed, and he should be unmolested, he would lay aside his hostile appearance. But they were mistaken. John Brown, of Swansey, informed them that Philip and his men had sent their wives to Narragansett; were collecting strangers for a contest; alarmed the English in the night; "invaded their passage to Plymouth;" and that the young Indians were for war.

On June 7, Benjamin Church, being on Rhode Island, was told by Wectanno and some of her chiefs, that Philip meant to begin speedy hostilities; that some of them would assist him; and that he had granted them leave to kill the cattle and rob the houses of the English. On the 14th and 15th of June, Mr. James Brown went twice to Philip and endeavored to persuade him to give up his purpose, but in vain. At the former date the Council wrote by Mr. Brown to Philip, advising him to pursue a peaceful course, and not to be deceived by reports that they meant to injure him. He gave no reply. On the 17th, John Paine, of Rehoboth, and several other Colonists, went unarmed to find their horses at Mount Hope, as requested by Philip. His Indians presented guns at them and treated them otherwise roughly. On the 18th and 19th, the house of Job Winslow was robbed by Philip's men, who the next day, being Sabbath, alarmed the people of Swansey, robbed and burned two houses there. Being entreated to send help, the Council ordered a detachment, on the 21st, to that place. On the 23d, a dozen more houses in Swansey were robbed, and the day following, Thomas Layton was killed at Fall River. On the 25th, many

1675.]

houses were burnt, and eight or nine slain at Swansea. Up to this time, though forces from Plymouth and Massachusetts were there, yet no attack was made on the Indians, because it was hoped that forbearance would prevent a war with them." The Commissioners having heard the report, declare the war against Philip as "just and necessary." Of one thousand men to be raised, they put the quota of Plymouth at one hundred and fifty-eight.

October 4. James Cudworth is "re-established"* as General of the Plymouth forces. As before stated, he had been denied the privileges of a freeman for his opposition to the authorities in their measures to suppress the Quakers. . . . "The Court proclaim a solemn day of humiliation, to be observed by fasting and prayer (on the 14th) throughout this jurisdiction, to humble our souls and seek and beg the Lord's help in our present troubles, by reason of the Indians, their persisting in their hostility and barbarous cruelty and outrage against the English." . . . None shall build houses or cottages without proper leave, except they are conveniently near the place of public worship. . . . The principal men of the "Southern Indians" appear before the Court and renew their treaties of fidelity. They are from the following places: Paomett, Nausett, Saquatuckett, Nobscussett, Mannamoiett, Wequahutt, Mattacheesett, "South Sea" and Mannomett.

As the people of Dartmouth had lost most of their houses and suffered much by the Indians, they are ordered to build their houses nearer together, so that they may be better able to defend themselves. They are also required to be more dutiful in attendance on public worship, and make exertion to obtain a faithful minister, for the neglect of which the Court fear that they have been divinely chastised. Similar instructions are given to Middleborough, who were alike afflicted by the enemy.

December 2. A public fast, appointed by the Commissioners of the Union, is observed for divine aid in "repelling the rage of the enemy."

24. The Rev. John Holmes, of Duxbury, dies.† He was a student under the care of President Chauncy, in 1658. He succeeded, in 1663, Ralph Partridge, in the ministry here. One of his parishioners, being sentenced to stand in the stocks, 1668, for falsely accusing him, is released from this punishment at Mr. Holmes's request. The last person is granted land, June 1, 1675, in right of his father, at Pinguinhole, on condition of paying the Indian claim.

John Cotton, of Plymouth, in relating this decrease to Increase Mather, remarked as follows: His "poor people are desolate. I have many serious thoughts what the meaning of the providence

* Plym. Col. Rec. † Baylies, vol. ii. p. 256. Plym. Col. Rec. Farmer's Gen. Reg.

of God is in his death. I mean especially as to the season of it, he being one of those who impute these dreadful frowns of Providence to our dealing with the Quakers; and the late public Fast, December 2, (which was his last public work, except the Sabbath after,) he said in his sermon he was of the same mind as to that matter as formerly."

1676. March 26. Thomas Tupper, sen., of Sandwich, dies the second month of his ninety-ninth year. Baylies' Memoir of Plymouth (2 v. 282) says that he and Richard Bourne, after Mr. Leveridge went to Long Island, officiated as ministers at Sandwich without ordination. Who of the two should preach on the Sabbath was decided by the majority. Such an arrangement, if continuing so long, was interrupted by the employment of Mr. Smith to preach,* who became pastor of the town, and was there in 1675. The same author quoted above states that Mr. Smith had formerly preached at Barnstable, went to Long Island, then to New Jersey and returned. He adds that after Mr. Smith came to Sandwich, Tupper and Bourne labored as missionaries with the Indians; that the former gathered a church among them, who resided west and north of Sandwich, and had a meeting-house built for them at Herring river; that the latter moved to Marshpee and was ordained, 1670, over an Indian church here. Mr. Tupper left a wife, Anne, who died the next June 4th, in her ninetieth year. His great purpose was evidently to benefit his fellow-beings in their highest concerns. Though he moved not with the great of this world in such important action, it made no difference in his reception and station among the perfected servants of Christ.

April 20. A committee from the towns of Barnstable, Sandwich, Yarmouth and Eastham had invited the people of Taunton, Bridgewater and Rehoboth, who were much exposed to the enemy, to come and reside with them till the danger should pass away.* Such kindness was duly appreciated and acknowledged. But the population so treated in their peril declined the invitation with fit expressions of gratitude. The answer of Taunton follows: "We bless God that he hath given us so much room in your hearts, that you so freely tender to us a part with you in your houses, fields and provisions, at such a time, when the Lord is threatening us with the bereavement of our own. It much comforteth us in this day of darkness and distress, we shall want no succor you are able to afford us. We therefore return you all serious thanks for your sincere and abundant love, beseeching the Lord to continue and increase your peace and ability and promptness to relieve the distresses in this evil day. Nevertheless, upon our serious and mature deliberation upon, and consideration of, your great offer, we cannot at present comply with a motion to remove and quit our

* Hubbard's Indian War, p. 168.

1676.]

places, and leave our habitation to be a desolation, and that because we fear we should, in so doing, be wanting to the name of God and the interest of Christ, in this place, and bewray much diffidence and cowardice, and give the adversary occasion to triumph over us, to the reproach of that great and fearful name of God that is called on us." The replies of Rehoboth and of Bridgewater, the last by their minister, James Keith, was of the like resolute and Christian character.

May 1. In a letter written by Governor Winslow,* he relates that there was no cause for hostilities on the part of the Indians, in that Plymouth Colony had unlawfully taken any of their territory. His language is: "I think I can clearly say that before these present troubles broke out, the English did not possess one foot of land in this Colony but what was fairly obtained by honest purchase of the Indian proprietors. We first made a law that none should purchase or receive of gift any land of the Indians, without the knowledge and allowance of our Court. And lest yet they should be straitened, we ordered Mount Hope, Pocassett, and several other necks of the best land in the Colony, because most suitable and convenient for them, should never be bought out of their hands."

June 26. Hezekiah Willet, of Swansey, is shot dead by some lurking Indians, who cut off his head, and also carried away a negro of the family. He was grandson of Thomas Willet, Mayor of New York. He appears to have been a particular friend of the Rev. William Adams, settled at Dedham.

29. By recommendation of the General Court,† "All the churches of the Colony solemnly renewed their covenants with God and one another, on a day of humiliation, wherein, after confession of the prevailing evils of the times, they entered into strict engagements, through the assistance of divine grace, for personal and family reformation. The children of the church bore a part in this transaction."

July. Edward Randolph, agent of the Crown, visits Plymouth and calls on Governor Winslow. He represents the latter as saying,‡ that New England could not flourish unless brought under the immediate government of the King, or in other words, that the Colonial Charters should be taken away, and the whole country be subject to a general Governor. But he probably, as in other cases, mistook a civil treatment of his declared opinions by Winslow, as more favorable to them than he really was. He evidently committed a similar error in his conclusions about the prejudice of the majority in New Hampshire and Maine, against the Massachusetts authorities.

* P. S. Inc. Mather's Indian War, p. 1, 2. † Baylies' Plymouth, vol. ii. part 3, p. 165. ‡ Hutchinson's Coll. Papers, p. 508, 9.

22. The Council order that the children of Indian prisoners may be bound out to the English, who will treat them well until they shall be twenty-four or twenty-five years old. They allow that volunteer companies, at their own charge against the enemy, shall have one half of the captives whom they take.

26. The council of war* order, that male Indian captives above fourteen years old, shall be disposed of by their owners out of the Jurisdiction. The General Court, of November 4, confirm this rule, and require it to be fulfilled by all who had not, by the first of December, on penalty of forfeiting to the Colony every such captive in their hands. An exception is allowed in favor of five or six Indians, who were promised by Capt. Benjamin Church, that they should abide in the Jurisdiction, if they behaved well, unless it should appear that some of them had killed any of the English, particularly one Crossman, accused of having a hand in the murder of Hezekiah Willet.

August 6. The squaw sachem of Pocassett, named Weetanno, fled and was drowned† in attempting to cross the river on a raft. She had united with Philip against the English. Her head was cut off and set upon a pole at Taunton.

9. Governor Winslow grants a license to Thomas Smith, Captain of the ship *Sea Flower*, to transport and sell seventy Indians, men, women and children, who had "been sentenced and condemned to perpetual servitude," for being concerned in the rebellion of Philip. On September 2, the council of war sentence fifty-seven more, and on the 28th, an order is given to ship one hundred and seventy-eight, so condemned, on board of a vessel, Capt. Sprague, bound to "Cales."

12. While Philip is in the act of relating to his attendants a dream of the last night, that he fell into the hands of his pursuers, these have entered the swamp and are upon him, and he attempts to escape on the opposite side. But here he is met by Caleb Cook and a Saconet Indian, called Alderman. Cook attempts to fire on the sachem, but his gun flashes in the pan. Alderman tries and kills the chief.

17. This being a day of public thanksgiving for success against the enemy, the head of Philip is triumphantly brought to Plymouth,‡ where it was exposed to public view for over twenty-four years. Alderman, who shot this sachem, preserved his right hand in rum, and exhibited it through the country. In a letter of the next year, June 26, written by Governor Winslow to Charles II., trophies are mentioned, "being the best of our spoils, the ornaments of sachem Philip, the grand rebel; the most of them were taken from him by Capt. Benjamin Church, when he was slain by him, being his

* Plym. Col. Rec.

† Inc. Mather's Ind. War, p. 44-7.

‡ Thacher's Plymouth, p. 389.

1676.]

crown, his gorge, and two belts of their own making, of their gold and silver."

October 30. As the authorities of Plymouth wished for advice from ministers on the question,* What should be done with the son of Philip? Increase Mather, of Boston, writes to John Cotton, as follows: "It is necessary that some effectual course should be taken about him. He makes me think of Hadad, who was but a little child when his father (the chief sachem of the Edomites) was killed by Joab; and had not others fled away with him, I am apt to think that David would have taken a course that Hadad should never have proved a scourge to the next generation."

The united opinion of Messrs. Cotton of Plymouth, and Arnold of Marshfield, was of the subsequent purport. "They humbly conceive, on serious consideration, that children of notorious traitors, rebels and murderers, especially such as have been principal leaders, and actors in such horrid villainies, and that against a whole nation, yea, the whole Israel of God, may be involved in the guilt of their parents, and may, *salva republica*, be adjudged to death, as to us seems evident by the Scripture instances of Saul, Achan, Haman, the children of whom were cut off by the sword of justice for the transgressions of their parents, although concerning some of those children, it be manifest that they were not capable of being co-actors therein."

James Keith, of Bridgewater, took a different view of this matter. His words to Mr. Cotton, follow: "I long to hear what became of Philip's wife and son. I know there is some difficulty in that cxxxvii. Psalm, 8 and 9, though I think it may be considered whether there be not specialties, and somewhat extraordinary in it. The law, Deuteronomy xxiv. 16, compared with the commended example of Amaziah, 2 Chronicles xxv. 4, doth sway much with me, in the case under consideration. I hope God will direct those whom it doth concern to a good issue. Let us join our prayers at the throne of grace with all our might, that the Lord would so dispose of all public motions and affairs, that his Jerusalem in this wilderness may be the habitation of justice, and the mountain of holiness, that so it may be also, a quiet habitation, a tabernacle that shall not be taken down."

Though there was much leaning in the Government, towards the practice of the Jews, in the treatment of their captives, especially, at times, of children whose parents had committed what they adjudged capital offenses, still it spared the life of Philip's boy, though it decided that he should be sold into perpetual servitude; and he was thus disposed of at Bermuda.

November 4. The Court order, that Shawamett neck shall be sold to relieve the wants of maimed soldiers and others, impover-

* Thacher's Hist. Plym. p. 396, 7.

ished by the recent war, and poor widows who have lost their husbands therein, and also to assist in discharging the debts of the Colony. A committee are appointed to make sale of conquered lands at Shawamett, Mount Hope and Pocasset.

1677. March 1. Edward Perry, of Sandwich, dates an address* to New England, well written as to chirography and expression of ideas, on the treatment of the Quakers. He takes the ground that the blood shed by the Indians, who fought for the cause of Philip, was a retribution for such treatment.

6. The Court distribute £117 10s. among sufferers† by the late war in their towns, which had been sent over to Plymouth Colony, as contributions by "divers Christians in Ireland."

Mary, wife of Thomas Ingham, of Scituate, is tried on the charge of witchcraft, but cleared by a jury of twelve men.

April 2. John Cotton writes‡ to Increase Mather: "Good Mr. Newman preaches our election sermon. It is not his turn, but because he is newly come out of the fire, ergo, he was chosen." The trial here alluded to, was probably the brave pursuit made by Mr. Newman and his people after Philip and his followers. The correspondent further observes: "Philip's boy goes to be sold." This lad and other prisoners were ordered to be transported and disposed of as slaves.

June 7. The Legislature desire the opinion of their churches§ on the following questions, viz: "What are those due bounds and limits which ought to be set to a toleration in matters of religion, as may consist with the honor of Christ, the good and welfare of the churches and of the civil government."

Capt. Church is appointed for the precincts of Saconett and Pocasset, to issue warrants against all who profane the Lord's day, or indulge themselves in other vicious practices there contrary to law, so that they may answer for them at the next Court. He is also authorized to terminate differences among Indians and see that they conduct themselves orderly.

As George Barlow, of Sandwich, threatens to make such further disturbance as will drive their minister (John Smith) away, the Court notify him to appear and answer the complaint. He apologized before the Court for trials, and promised to pay his share of Mr. Smith's salary, and encourage others to do likewise.||

June 19. John Cotton, in a letter to Increase Mather, mentions¶ that 10% a Sabbath is asked by a candidate preaching at Plymouth. He desires advice about the renewal of their covenants by the churches of the Colony, and whether they (Baptists) should be tolerated, who declare it a sin for any of their number to commune with churches of another denomination.

* Hutchinson MS.

§ Plym. Col. Rec.

† Plym. Col. Rec.

|| Ibid.

‡ Mather MS.

¶ Mather MS.

1678.]

July 10. John Rauce, of Scituate,* for railing against Mr. Baker, the minister, and calling Major Cudworth a "false, hypocritical man," and for "going up and down from house to house, to entice young persons to come to hear their false teachers;" is sentenced to be publicly whipped.

13. To prevent the growing intolerable abuse by wine and strong liquors, etc., amongst the Indians and English, the former law† against the sale thereof without license, shall apply to strangers as well as others. No ordinary keeper shall sell such liquids to any but strangers, except in manifest cases of sickness and necessity. No seller of these drinks, including cider, shall deliver any of them to persons who, he suspects, will abuse them, nor to children, unless they bring a note from some sober person, that they are needed for sickness, on penalty of 5/. for each trespass. No person shall let Indians have "silver money," which tempts "some covetous or evil-minded English" to sell them liquors, "on pain of five times the value thereof." Two men are appointed for every town, to see that these rules are executed.

Although measures have been taken, as the Legislature remark, for "the comfortable and certain maintenance‡ for ministers of the gospel," still some plantations "remain destitute of the public preaching of the Word, unto the great prejudice of their own souls and continued grief of all well affected among us," while others continue to support their ministers in an unfixed and difficult manner. The Court enact that, for these evils to be rectified, "all the ratable inhabitants of the several plantations" shall be assessed their due proportion and shall pay it to the constables, as they do their taxes for "ordinary country charges."

October 30. The sum of £5 is allowed§ to Mr. Hinckley and Major Cudworth for their expenses in journeying to and fro, to comply with his Majesty's command, "as to the business of William Harris, of Pawtucket, near Providence."

November 1. The Court require|| that every town of fifty families or more, shall raise £12 towards the support of a grammar school, and the rest of its expenses shall be paid by those who send their children to it, except £5 to be allowed from the Cape fishing, and £5 besides, of this revenue, if the trustee of it see fit. This fund was devoted to one such institution in the Colony. "Each town of seventy families or upward, if failing to have a grammar school, shall pay £5 annually to the next town, which has one."

1678. April 16. Noah, son of Samuel Newman, dies of a lingering complaint. He succeeded his father in the ministry of Rehoboth, where he was numbered among its freemen in 1670. He married Joanna, daughter of Rev. Henry Flint, December 3, 1669.

* Plym. Col. Rec.

† Plym. Col. Laws.

‡ Ibid.

§ Ibid.

|| Ibid.

As stated, he preached the Election Sermon of the Spring preceding that of his decease. He seems to have been thus early noticed, particularly for exemplary courage and activity against hostile Indians, as well as for his pastoral qualifications. His wife was kindly treated by his parish. On the 29th of the month in which he departed, they voted that she "have £15 for the year, and a sufficiency of wood brought to her gate, and June 20th, the use of the pasture and teacher's lot of meadow and upon the plain, if she please to abide" with them. On the 5th of the month last named, the Legislature granted her £5. In reference to his death, Mr. Bradstreet, of New London, wrote in his Journal: "Mr. Newman, pastor of Rehoboth, a young man of very great worth, exchanged this life for a better." He honored the example of his worthy father.

June. The Quakers present a memorial to the General Court, against paying taxes for maintenance of ministers,* whom they call the "present established preachers." Extracts from the paper follow: "We suppose it well enough known, we have never been backward to contribute our assistance in our estates and persons, where we could act without scruple of conscience, nor in the particular case of the country rate, according to our just proportion and abilities, until this late continuance of mixing your preachers' maintenance therewith, by the which we are made incapable to bear any part of what just charge may necessarily be disbursed, for the maintenance of civil government, a thing we could always readily do until now." Reasons are given for not paying clerical taxes. 1. The Jews paid tithes to their Priests, the Levites. The Pope instituted such taxes, 786, in the reign of Offa, king of Mercia. (See Selden's History of Titles.) The former, Plymouth authorities considered as abolished, and the latter, as of no force. 2. The gospel ought to be freely preached. 3. Ministers should get their living as other men. 4. True ministers never received any thing, except from those whom they had spiritually profited. 5. They did not esteem the Congregational ministers of Plymouth Colony, as true ministers, and therefore they cannot conscientiously assist in supporting them. They remark: "You will please to consider whether you may not prejudice yourselves, in your public interests with your King, having your liberty but upon sufferance, if you should compel any to conform, in any respect, either by giving maintenance or otherwise to such a church government or ministry, as is repugnant to the Church of England. Desiring that you please to distinguish between the country rate and your preachers' maintenance, and that we may not be imposed upon against our consciences."

June 5. Transactions of the General Court. Wherever meeting-

* Hinckley Papers.

1678.]

houses, in town or village, need be erected, or enlarged, or repaired,* for public worship, they shall be; and if the inhabitants and proprietors neglect this duty, the Court will appoint persons to have it done, and the expense be collected by rate from such delinquents. If any towns are incompetent to pay "able and faithful" ministers sufficient salaries, the proprietors of such towns shall be taxed for this purpose, a just proportion, and the Government will pay the rest.

As "the voting of persons, that have not taken the oath of fidelity, doth much obstruct the carrying on of religion in the public weal," no person shall be allowed to vote in town meeting, who has not taken such an oath and refuses so to do.

To hinder "profaneness increasing in the Colony, which is so provoking to God and threatening to bring judgments upon us," intruders into any town without leave, as stated in a previous order, shall be warned to depart, and if not speedily obeying, each of them shall pay 5/. a week so long as they remain in the jurisdiction after being notified to be gone. Whatever inhabitant contravenes this regulation, by selling or letting accommodations to such intruders, or entertaining them, shall pay a fine of ten pounds, or more, at the discretion of the Court, it being hoped that the Government "will be careful, that whom they accept of," to be new residents, "are persons orthodox in their judgments."

8. Edward Wanton, for uniting himself in marriage with his present wife contrary to the legal form, is fined £10.

August 22. Rev. Nicholas Baker, of the First church in Scituate, dies. He had a grant of land at Hingham, 1635. He was deputy to the General Court, 1636 and '38. He afterwards was a large landholder at Hull, where he resided. After the decease of President Dunster, he was invited to preach in his place, and was ordained 1660. He had two wives. The first died 1661, and the next year he married the other, whose name was Grace, and who survived him. He left children—Samuel, Elizabeth, Nicholas, Sarah, Deborah, and Mary, and a brother, Nathaniel Baker. Cotton Mather wrote of him:† "Honest Nicholas Baker, who, though he had but a private education, yet being a pious and zealous man, or (as Dr. Arrowsmith expresses it) so good a logician that he could offer up to God a reasonable service; so good an arithmetician, that he could wisely number his days; and so good an orator, that he persuaded himself to be a good Christian."

26. A letter from John Cotton to Increase Mather, says:‡ "Mr. Thornton hath begun and practiced the Synod's fifth proposition in baptizing sundry. There are five or six dissenting brethren. Your book of the Eleven Principles and de Bap, I wish twenty of them

* Plym. Col. Rec. and Laws.

† Mather's Magnalia, vol. i. p. 542.

‡ Mather's MS.

in Yarmouth. They might be of great use to establish the unsettled."

The Thomas Thornton here named, was of the ministers who had been settled in England, were ejected on the restoration of Charles II., and obliged by persecution to seek a field of labor in our country. The mirror rightly exhibits the person, and action the character. The individuals who give up the endearments of home, who subject themselves to the severities of relentless law, and escape to a strange land, not knowing the trials which await them for the cause of their Redeemer, win from our judgment high approbation. Thus classed, and accompanied by his wife, more than a common helper in the ministrations of the gospel, and his children, he resumed his duties at Yarmouth, in Plymouth Colony, about 1663. Here, though a retired position, he was privileged to realize the consolations of his mission, and to participate in the promotion of its immortal blessings. Worn down with age, so that he needed rest from his calling, he withdrew about 1693, to the family of his son Timothy, in Boston, where he died, February 15, 1700, nearly ninety-three years old. Cotton Mather,* while speaking of Mr. Thornton's daughter, Priscilla, remarkable for her piety, who died when eleven years of age, gives his character in the few expressive words: "The faithful pastor."

October 30. The General Court approve of Samuel Fuller's being likely to settle as minister of Middlebury.

NOTE.—September 11.—Solomon Blackleish, commander of the ship *James Frigate*, seized on suspicion of being employed as a pirate at Plymouth, and about to die, gives the command of her to Robert Daniel. His will, made September 24, mentions his wife Sindeniah and child, in "*Catalina*," (*Carolina*?)

October 11. Three Indians, Canootus, Symon and Joel, having broken open the house of Zachariah Allin, at Sandwich, stolen from his chest £25, and squandered it away, are sentenced to be sold into perpetual servitude by the said Allin, and the price of them to be for his compensation.

MAINE.

1675. February 16. Robert Thomson writes to Governor Leverett concerning the purchase† of the Gorges claim. "For the business of Mr. Gorges, I should willingly have disbursed the money you mention, but they are now in the clouds, and expect as much a year, secured here, for their interest. The copy of this, with others their petition, I gave Mr. Collins to send you, and is here inclosed. The Council of Trade have done nothing, so it's remanded to his Majesty's Privy Council."

March 19. The Rev. John Collins, of London, informs Governor

* *Magnalia* vol. ii. p. 483.

† *Hutch. Coll.* p. 470, 2.

1676.]

Leverett that such is the high price for the Gorges territory, Major Thomson has no encouragement to bid for it, and that the King is petitioned to purchase it for the Duke of Monmouth.

May 12. Humphrey Davy, Capt. Thomas Lake, Richard Collicut, Capt. Thomas Gardner and George Mountjoy, are appointed * to keep the County Court in Devonshire.

Bryan Pendleton, Humphrey Warren and others, are granted a Plantation, six miles square, above Saco.

July 6. The Selectmen of Kittery are presented† “for not taking care that their children and youth be taught their catechism,” and educated as the law prescribes.

The Selectmen of Cape Porpus, Scarborough and Falmouth, are severally presented for a similar deficiency. The first of these three towns had been lately complained of for living without an orthodox minister. But they are cleared.

1676. January 11. A considerable number of persons had escaped from Maine.‡ Part of them sought refuge at Salem. The records of this place say, they “being driven from their habitations by the barbarous heathen, are added as inhabitants of the town, though most of them affirming they have provision for themselves and families a year.”

May 5. An additional cause of complaint made by the Indians§ living at Pemaquid and Kennebec was, that in this spring, agents commissioned by Major Waldron to arrest any Indians at the Eastward who had killed or spoiled English people there, had enticed some Cape Sable Indians on board of a vessel, carried them away and sold them as slaves. The last Indians, in consequence of such conduct, became hostile to the English. The agents so accused, were subsequently called to an account.

August 13. An extract of a letter from Bryan Pendleton, at Winter Harbor, to the Governor and Council of Massachusetts, after relating the disaster|| at Casco, follows: “How soon it will be our portion we know not. The Lord in mercy fit us for death, and direct the hearts and hands to act and do what is most needful in such a time of distress as this.”

September 6. The Massachusetts Legislature,¶ in their appeal to the King, with regard to their claims against those by the heirs of Gorges, state that a new enemy had sprung up at the Eastward, assisted by others who had fought for Philip. They proceed: “We are necessitated once again with the uttermost hazard of our person and great expense of our estate (so deeply exhausted before), to defend the lives of your Majesty’s subjects in those places, crying aloud for succor, and dispute your Majesty’s and our own possessions in the dismal deserts with a bloody and barbarous enemy.”

* Mass. Gen. Ct. Rec.

† Annals of Salem, p. 252.

|| Council Rec.

‡ York Rec. Willis’s Maine, p. 285.

§ Hubbard’s Ind. War, p. 302-4.

¶ Mass. Gen. Ct. Rec.

1677. June 1. The General Court of Massachusetts write to Connecticut for their quota of men to aid in reducing the Indians of Maine. They recount that these have killed people, burnt houses, depopulated a considerable part of the settlements, gotten supplies from the French, are insolent, threaten to spend the summer in ranging and laying waste the western borders of Massachusetts. They estimate the charges of defending Maine in the present war "some thousands of pounds."

September. Walter Gendall, having exposed himself to suspicion, while in captivity with the Indians, of having betrayed the English,* is tried at Boston and found guilty. He was sentenced to run the gantelope on the 10th inst., through the military companies of Boston, with a rope about his neck; to forfeit all his lands to the country, be banished from his jurisdiction, and be gone by the 6th of next October, on penalty of perpetual imprisonment if he come back again, discharging the costs of his prosecution. It is evident that he was falsely accused, for his sentence of banishment was soon revoked, his lands returned to him, and he was restored to public confidence, being elected to important public offices.

October 17. The Court of Massachusetts reply† to Governor Andros, that his purpose to make prizes of all vessels which fish at Pemaquid, unless they have entries and clearances at his custom house there, is contrary to their charter rights.

1678. March 13. John Usher, a merchant of Boston, having negotiated with Mr. Gorges, a grandson of Sir Ferdinando, for the province of Maine, and bought it of him the year before, by the request of Massachusetts, now conveys it to them for £1,250. For this transaction, the Bay authorities were much censured by the King, as if they purchased the province while knowing that he had thoughts of doing the same. The truth is, they were informed by Robert Thomson, of London, 1674, that they could buy Maine if they chose. At the same time, the King's project of buying it and New Hampshire for the Duke of Monmouth, whom Chalmers calls "the most beloved of all his sons," so that the latter personage might send over his governor and reap a great income from them, was exploded as a mere bubble of imagination by all sensible and practical men who looked at the matter. The rulers of Massachusetts purchased the patent, with all its liabilities, to be seized by the Crown or otherwise, not, as they subsequently say, with any "intention to infringe his Majesty's royal prerogative, or to prevent his Majesty's taking the same into his own hands, but upon real desire to accommodate his Majesty's subjects, the inhabitants of that province, and their own mutual peace and safety, and with good advice first had that they might do so."

* Willis's Portland, vol. i. p. 153.

† Mass. Gen. Ct. Rec.

1675-G.]

Maine, so obtained, could no longer be retained under the jurisdiction of Massachusetts, as a part of their territory, but required to be under the form of a proprietary government, which it had in due course.

April 12. Much to the relief of anxious fears entertained by the people of Maine,* a peace is made at Casco, with Squando and other Indian chiefs, who give up the rest of the captives in their hands. As a solution of the mystery where the hostile Indians had obtained the most of their arms and ammunition to carry on their destructive warfare, it was subsequently found that Baron de St. Castine, who had been a French officer, had a trading house at Penobscot, and been married to a daughter of Madokawando, supplied them in the way of barter.

October 2. The Legislature of Massachusetts hear the indenture† relative to the purchase of Maine read. They deliver it in a black box to the secretary, for safe keeping. They vote to accept such a contract made by their agents, and that money be raised to pay the amount stipulated. They desire the Governor and Council to take order for the improvement, government and disposal of Maine, by sale or otherwise, as may seem best to them.

NEW HAMPSHIRE.

1675. Oyster River, part of Dover, is allowed by Massachusetts to be a parish. John Buss, who married Elizabeth, daughter of Thomas Bradbury, of Salisbury, May 12, 1673, and freeman 1674, when he belonged to Concord, is stated by Lawrence's New Hampshire churches, to have been employed at the said river in the year last named, as preacher and physician, and that he so served them for thirty-three years. He lost a valuable library with his house, when burnt by Indians in 1694. His decease was here, 1736. Some have set his age at one hundred and eight, but he gave it himself in a petition, as represented by Farmer's Genealogy, so as to make it ninety-six. He appears to have been a worthy laborer for the bodily and spiritual welfare of his people.

1676. February 21. As several Indians had come in and submitted themselves to mercy,‡ and others are expected to do it, Majors Richard Waldron and Nicholas Shapleigh are appointed by the Bay Legislature to attend such business, and treat with the Eastern Indians for peace, and if they cannot effect this, they may ship off the enemy who come in, so that they may not do further damage.

* Williamson, vol. i. p. 552, 3. † Mass. Gen. Ct. Rec. ‡ Mass. Col. Rec.

July. The beginning of this month, Randolph visits New Hampshire.* He reads Mason's letter to the inhabitants. He speaks "of the whole country," (as mostly Episcopalians,) "complaining of the usurpation of the magistrates of Boston," (Massachusetts,) "imposing ministers upon them, not admitting them to the sacrament of the Lord's supper, denying baptism to their children, and liberty of choosing their own magistrates and officers because they were not members of their congregations. They have been for a long time earnestly expecting to be delivered from the Government of the Massachusetts Bay, and do now humbly hope your Majesty will not permit them any longer to be oppressed, but will be graciously pleased to give them relief." The writer undoubtedly had incorrect views as to the denominational character of the people of whom he here speaks, supposing their number to be much larger than they really were.

In connection with this, Belknap adds:† "Some, Randolph found ready to complain of the Bay authorities, but the body of the people were much dissatisfied with him, and the inhabitants of Dover, in public town meeting, protested against the claim of Mason; declared they had *bona fide* purchased their lands of the Indians; recognized their subjection to the Government of Massachusetts, under whom they had lived long and happily, and by whom they were now assisted in defending their estates and families against the savage enemy." The people of this town appointed Major Waldron to petition the King that they may not be disturbed by Mason or any other claimant, and be allowed to remain under the present government of their preference.

When Randolph returned to Boston,‡ Governor Leverett gave him a severe rebuke for publishing his errand and endeavoring to produce disaffection among the colonists here. To which he replied, if he had acted amiss, they might make it known to the King.

August 9. A special General Court assemble in Boston, to consider the King's letter about the claims of Mason's heirs to this Colony. A committee are appointed to obtain depositions on this subject. In their petition to his Majesty, the Court say of New Hampshire and Maine: "Sure we are, that no intention of wrong to the claimers, no unlawful design of enlargement of our borders, no profit or advantage thereby accruing, (the contrary whereof we have hitherto found,) but a grounded apprehension of our interest, real compassion to the inhabitants in an unsettled and ungoverned condition, together with a sense of duty incumbent to be faithful to our Patent trust, did cause us to receive them under the wing of your Majesty's Government in this Colony."

October 12. A letter of the Bay Legislature to Sir Joseph Wil-

* Hutch. Coll. p. 507, 8. † Farmer's Belknap, p. 86. ‡ Hutch. Coll. p. 510.

1677-8.]

liamson,* one of the King's principal secretaries, refers to this territory, claimed by the heir of Mason, as of no great value, and still less so now, infested with hostile Indians.

1677. July 20. The case between Mason and Massachusetts, as to the jurisdiction of New Hampshire, having been tried in England and the decision confirmed by the royal sanction, the result is as follows: "The right of soil, as claimed by Mason, remains unsettled, because the ter-tenants had not been summoned to defend their titles, but his jurisdiction over the territory cannot be sustained, and that the towns of Portsmouth, Dover, Exeter and Hampton are not comprised in Massachusetts, as their agent's claim is, according to their Charter, three miles northward of the river Merrimac." "All parties are ordered to acquiesce therein, and contribute what lies in them, to the punctual and due performance of the said report, as there shall be occasion."

1678. April 12. Francis Champernoon, and Nathaniel Fryer, of Portsmouth,† as commissioners with Major Shapleigh, of Kittery, make peace with Squando and other chiefs at Casco.

May 8. For the continuance of order in New Hampshire, Massachusetts still appoint Magistrates to administer the laws,‡ until instructions arrive from the Crown to the contrary.

October 16. The authorities of the Bay, referring to charges of the Lords for trade and plantations, remark that the people of New Hampshire were not constrained to come under their jurisdiction, as Randolph had declared, but did it voluntarily.

RHODE ISLAND.

1675. June. When the Wampanoags, under Philip, whose principal residence was at Montaup, or Mount Hope, near Bristol, Rhode Island, rebelled against the English, they sent part of their wives and children to the Narragansetts for protection. The chief, Canonchet,§ being required to surrender them to the English, said, "Not a Wampanoag, nor the paring of a Wampanoag's nail, shall be delivered up." However strong his purpose, the revolution of a few months showed its ultimate inefficacy.

17. John Easton, of the Quakers, says that three magistrates, another person and himself, crossed over from Rhode Island|| to persuade Philip to settle his difficulty with Plymouth; that they proposed it should be left to Governor Andros, of New York, and an Indian King; but that he would not comply. He observes that Philip remarked, "they had great fear to have any of their Indians

* Mass. Gen. Ct. Rec. † Adams's Portsmouth, p. 62, 3. ‡ Mass. Gen. Ct. Rec. § Staples's Prov. p. 159, 60. || Easton's Philip's War.

be called or forced to be Christians," assigning as one of the reasons, it made them less obedient to their kings.

As Rhode Island was not a member of the Union, they did not feel so much of an immediate concern in this outbreak of Philip, as the other Colonies of New England; still they could not but be anxious, lest, before brought to its last result, it might involve the question of their very existence.

July. Messrs. Joseph Torrey and Samuel Hubbard, alarmed lest their friends at Westerly should be injured, sent a boat and had them brought to Newport. These guests, so favored, remained on the Island during the war.

December 19. The strong fortification of the Narragansetts is attacked by the English forces. After a long battle, disastrous to both sides, the Indians are defeated.

The English, thus victorious, rested at the garrison house of Richard Smith, near Wickford, and their wounded were conveyed to Rhode Island. In the year 1679, Roger Williams testified of this Smith as son of Richard Smith, Sen., who for conscience "left fair possessions in Gloucestershire," came to Taunton, and thence to Narragansett. "In the late bloody pagan war, it pleased the Most High to make use of him in person, housing goods, corn, provisions and cattle, for a garrison and supply of the whole army of New England, for the service of his Majesty's honor and country of New England."

20. Habakkuk Glover writes from Newport, Rhode Island, to Increase Mather.* He speaks of something he had written and printed, which Mr. Mather had noticed. He observes: "Upon perusall of Mr. Norton's explication of the way of Redemption in his answer to Mr. Pinchon, I finde in his explication hee partly ownes that Christ in fallen man's place and stead suffered and satisfied for them; but that Christ, and God in Christ, bought fallen mankind by his satisfying for them. Mr. Norton doth not owne, (in all his explication of the way of redemption,) and therefore hee and many others for the like reason have fallen into an opinion, that a discharge from suffering for sin and salvation is bought and merited, and a debt due unto all for whom Christ died, and that it would be injustice in God for to punish any of them for their sins for whom Christ died. Hence men are carried violently either to conclude that all must bee saved, or else to conclude that Christ did never die for all." This and other errors would "easily be avoided if men really owne that Christ, and God in Christ, bought mankind by satisfying for them. And so because God bought all fallen mankind by satisfying for them, therefore hee may of his justice require of them the whole debt which was due from them unto God as their creditour at the first, or of his free grace, hee may forbear or forgive the debt."

* Mather Papers.

1676.]

1676. January 9. William Coddington, Governor of Rhode Island, writes* to the Governor and Council of Massachusetts. He mentions the thanks sent to him and his colleagues of the Government, by the Commissioners of the Confederation and the Governor and Council of Massachusetts, for transporting their provision and soldiers and wounded.

16. About this date, the scouts bring in an Indian, and Joshua Tift, who had gone from Providence† and united with the Indians, and married a squaw. Tift was charged with wounding Captain Sealy, tried and executed as a traitor.

February 5. Easton closes his pamphlet on the existing war, † with terms of strong prejudice against the Congregationalists. "I am persuaded of New England priests, they are so blinded by the spirit of persecution to maintain to have hire and to have name to be mere hirelings; that they have been the cause that the law of nations, and the law of arms have been violated in this war, and that the war had not been, if there had not been a hireling, and that for his money, giving what he called the Gospel, by violence to have it chargeable for his gain from his quarter, and if any magistracy be not so as their pack horses, they will be trumpeting for innovation or war."

28. Governor Walter Clark answers an application of Providence for defensive aid.‡ He remarks: "My advice is unto you, seek not help from other Colonies, lest it be your utter ruin. The Confederate Colonies cannot support themselves and friends." This opinion was more positive than correct.

March 13. The Assembly at Newport, in answer to petitions from Providence and Warwick for defense against the Indians, state that the Colony is unable to "maintain sufficient garrisons for" its "out plantations," and invite the people of them to come and reside on the Island, as the safest practical means. They add: "Newport and Portsmouth inhabitants have taken such care, that those of the Colony that come and cannot procure land to plant for themselves and families' relief, may be supplied with land by the towns, and each family so wanting ability, shall have a cow kept upon the commons." The Assembly remark, that if any decide to continue on the Main, it is their opinion that they and their property will become a prey to the enemy, "except more than ordinary providence prevent." Staples informs us that a large proportion of the Providence inhabitants complied with such a proposal, and that a considerable number of those, so changing their abode, did not return.§ Among the persons who remained to encounter the doubly increased perils, was Roger Williams. As the Government was in the hands of the Quakers, now as well as several years

* Easton's Philip's War, p. 132-5.

† Easton, p. 123.

‡ Hubbard's Ind. War, p. 59.

§ Staples's Prov. p. 162, 3.

before and after this, this time may account for the laxity of enterprise in defending the two towns on the Main.

18. Habakkuk Glover writes from Rhode Island to Increase Mather.* "Lest I should fall short of my duty, I must tell you plainly, that it is time for you to open and explain your dark doctrine and open your eyes, that you may see and understand, if so be that, which it is; for the land is under an anathema maranatha, for ministers' preaching principles, and people's embracing another gospel than that which is revealed in the scriptures." What Mr. Glover, who had resided in Boston, here refers to, he gives no clue.

29. Council of Massachusetts write to Council of Connecticut in relation to Providence: "One Wright was killed, that was neither Quaker nor Anabaptist, well versed in the scriptures, but opinionated; would not retire to any garrison, listless to meddle, nay, refused to have to do with any civil business." Roger Williams had had a long discourse with the hostile Indians.

April 20. John Clark closes his life in his 66th year. He was, by tradition, from Bedfordshire in England; † born October 8, 1609, and married Elizabeth, daughter of John Harges, Esq., of the same country. In a power of attorney, subscribed 1656, he signed himself as a physician of London, to receive a legacy given by his wife's father out of the manor of Wreslingworth, of the same shire. His wife died at Newport, without issue, February 1, 1671. He married Mrs. Jane Fletcher, February 14, 1672. She had a daughter, who died May 18, 1673, and she herself deceased the preceding April 19. He married the widow Sarah Davis, with children, who survived him. As related, he was sent in 1651, by the people of the Island, to obtain a new Charter in England. Here he spent twelve years in difficult and untiring effort to accomplish his mission. To meet the costs of obtaining the Charter, 1663, he mortgaged his estate at Newport. He returned the next year and resumed his pastoral labors. As previously stated, while abroad, he published his "Ill News from New England," 1652. Backus informs us that "after Mr. Clark's return, he was improved in various public offices; was elected deputy governor three years successively, in two of which he accepted the office, but all the concerns of the state did not prevail with him to neglect the affairs of religion." He said in his will, with regard to his burial, let "this frail body be decently interred, without any vain ostentation, between my loving wives, Elizabeth and Jane, already deceased, in hopeful expectation that the same Redeemer, who hath laid down a price both for my soul and body, will raise up at the last day a spiritual one, that they may together be singing hallelujah unto him to all eternity." After making various bequests, he secured the use of his house and farm to his wife while she lived,

* Mather MS. Papers. † Farmer's Gen. Reg. Potter's Narragansett, p. 313.

1676.]

and then to trustees, with power to fill vacancies in their number, and to pay the income of the property "for the relief of the poor or bringing up children unto learning." In this way, he provided for public usefulness to the end of time. The books of his library, given to Richard Bailey, who came with him from London, 1664, indicate that the donor was learned as well as that the legatee was a preacher. He left an exposition of his creed, which was decidedly evangelical. As he lived, so he died, the benefactor of his fellow beings, and the faithful servant of Jesus Christ. The hope of a blessed immortality, which consoled him in trials and bore him onward in the constant discharge of duty, we have cause to believe, has long been a glorious reality in his experience.

May. Mr. S. Hubbard writes to Boston : * "The Quakers are still uppermost in government among us—I mean in outward rule—though we have put out the chief, Mr. John Easton, from being Deputy, and now Major John Cranston is Deputy Governor."

June 14. The Assembly vote to have one of the garrisons at Providence, selected and kept in the King's name, at the Colonial expense. Each soldier of it to have 6/. a week in "money pay," and their commander to have 12/. of the like tenor. The latter is Capt. Arthur Fenner, of Providence. The Assembly order that the garrison have a great gun "belonging to the owners of the ship Newport." They mention Roger Williams as having the command of a train-band at Providence.

24. The Council of Connecticut state, that of the contributions by their churches, one hundred and ten bushels of corn are to be distributed in Rhode Island, Swansey, etc.

30. The clause of the law passed May 7, 1673,—"Persons declaring that it is against their conscience to bear arms in a military manner," shall not be liable to such duty nor to any fines,—is repealed, because "several under pretence decline their duty, whereby great disturbance is in the several train-bands."

August 7. The Assembly vote that Lt. Edward Richmond and company shall have one half of the produce of the seven Indians, whom they brought in; and Capt. Andrew Edmonds and his company shall have the same ratio of what the thirty-five Indians whom they brought shall bring. They order that Indian men and women, capable of service, shall be sold for nine years. They except Indians from such sale, who are notoriously guilty. They mention that the Act of Council for this, on July 24, and "other acts, orders, commissions, verbal orders," etc., for the present war, shall be lawful, "as if the General Assembly or General Council of this Colony had been in lawful being to act the same."

14. A town meeting is held by the men of Providence,† to dispose of Indian prisoners. Roger Williams, and twenty-four more,

* Backus, p. 465.

† Staples's Providence, p. 170, 1.

are to have a whole share a-piece ; two others, three-fourths of a share ; and five more, half a share each, in the amount of sales. If any inhabitant wishes to purchase one or more of the captives, he is allowed to do it at the prices on Rhode Island or elsewhere. The terms of service for which the prisoners were to be sold, follow : Those under 5 years old, for 30 years ; above 5 and under 10, till they were 20 years old, for 20 years ; above 10 to 15, till 27 ; above 15 to 20, till 26 years old ; from 20 to 30, they were to serve 8 years. There were thirty-six sold at a low rate. Five of them, great and small, were disposed of for £8, and two more for twenty-two bushels of corn. They were, most likely, women and children, because the warriors were sentenced to speedy death, or to perpetual servitude out of the country.

24. A Court Martial at Newport,* try the case of Quonopen, or Sowagonish, a Narragansett Sachem, second in power to Nenante-nett. He confessed that he was at the swamp fight, the assault on William Carpenter's garrison house at Pawtuxet, the burning of Nashaway, and carrying off about twenty English captives. He is condemned to be shot the next day but one.

25. Sunkeejunasuck, brother of Quonopen, who was at the destruction of Warwick, receives a like sentence. Wenanaquabin, of Pawtuxet, and John Wecopeak, on a similar charge, are adjudged to the same punishment.

Chuff, a ring-leader of Indians† against the Colonists, being wounded by some men from Providence, had been brought in thither. "The inhabitants of the town cried out for justice against him, threatening themselves to kill him, if the authority did not. For which reason, Capt. Roger Williams caused the drum to beat, and the town council and council of war called." Sentence was passed and the prisoner was shot to death.

The captives who remained at Providence, and were to be shipped off, set sail on the 29th inst., in a sloop belonging to Providence Williams, son of Roger.

31. It is ordered, that Malosses, Mamaxuat and Quanachuagat, be transported and sold for slaves. The day after, the Governor orders these three to be placed in the hands of Captain Benjamin Church, and seven more to Captain Anthony Low, and another to Henry Lilly, so they may be carried out of the Colony. Though a plea, honestly presented, has been made, as though Rhode Island was more merciful to Indian prisoners than the Confederate Colonies, yet there was no essential difference in this respect. The stern usages of war, as then existing, were resorted to by all the Colonies who had suffered its desolating effects.

September 18. Elder Hiscox and Mr. Hubbard are carried in a boat from Newport to New London. Here the Elder baptized the father of the Rogers family, his wife and daughter.‡

* Gen. Ct. for Trials. † Staples's Prov. p. 171, 2. ‡ Backus, vol. i. p. 474.

1677.]

October 25. The Assembly writing to Connecticut say* that no Colony has received so much loss from the Indian war, in proportion to population, as Rhode Island. They expostulate against Connecticut taking possession of their frontier settlements in Narragansett country and holding them, because they were deserted by their inhabitants. They say that if not allowed to have such towns re-occupied by their proprietors, they shall apply to his Majesty for redress.

27. The Assembly order that Indians who come or are brought upon an island of Narragansett bay, without the legal authority, shall be "liable to be disposed of for the benefit of the Colony."

The Assembly perceiving that there has not been made the essential difference between those* who conscientiously refuse to bear arms in war and those who do not, as it should be, and that the former class "are fined and then inconsiderate persons are employed who enter into their houses and take some of their best things; and sometimes five times the value that they should by law take;" therefore the clause of the law, May 3, 1676, which infringeth liberty of conscience, is repealed, and the law of May 7, 1673, which promotes such liberty, is revived and in full force.

November 29. Samuel Hubbard, of Newport, writes to Dr. Stennet of London.† "As for the other side, over against us on the Main, many are killed by the Indians. The rest came to us with what they could bring. Connecticut army, Plymouth and Bay armies, being there, wasted very much. When they left it, the Indians burnt near all that was left."

December. In this month, Mark Luker, one of the first founders of the Baptist church at Newport, and a ruling elder thereof, dies. He adorned his profession as a follower of Christ.

During the current year, Williams's "George Fox Dugged out of his Burrowes," is printed at Cambridge. It goes over the ground of controversy between the two parties, as previously described.

1677. January 22. The Governor and Council, considering‡ the perils to the inhabitants from drunken Indians, who have set up wigwams in different parts of the Island, order these dwellings to be torn down and no more to be erected. They empower the inhabitants to take away from Indians all "strong drink" found upon them, and break the vessels containing such liquor; and to bring Indians whom they meet with guns and ammunition before the Governor, or his deputy, for examination.

April 21. The Assembly write to Governor Leet, of Connecticut. They complain§ that "divers" of their people have been taken from their homes in the Narragansett and carried to prison

* R. I. Col. Rec.

† R. I. Col. Rec.

‡ Backus, vol. i. p. 433-5.

§ Ibid.

in Connecticut, for refusing to comply with the laws of the latter Colony. They assert that if such force is continued, they shall be constrained to retaliate. They hope that his Majesty's decision will soon terminate such inconveniences.

May 2. As some have petitioned the Assembly,* that the market day, kept on the seventh day, or Saturday, be changed, "it being consistent [inconsistent] to their opinion to be then kept," the Court decline compliance, but order that an additional market may be kept every Thursday in Newport.

The Quakers, who held the reins of government in Rhode Island from the election of 1675, are now left out of the prominent offices.† Roger Williams was chosen magistrate, but he excused himself. Yet he wrote to Providence, "desiring that the old custom of order be kept in our meetings, and those unruly be reprov'd, or, upon obstinacy, cast out from sober and freemen's company; that our ancient use of arbitration be brought into esteem again; that it being constantly reported, that Connecticut is upon gaining his Majesty's consent to enslave us to their parish worship, we consider what we ought to do." The writer was often called to experience the unruliness of which he speaks. Still he stood for regularity, against the reproaches of many who took their will as the rule of right. The enslavement alluded to by him, was the endeavor of Connecticut to have the towns in Narragansett, which they claimed counter to the protestations of Rhode Island, secured to them by royal permission. Of course, the former Colony, if successful in their purpose, would have parish taxes, as well as others, raised to support ministers in the places for which they were contending.

A military law is passed.‡ This subject had been much neglected by the Quakers, while they were at the head of Government, consistently with their profession. As a matter of necessity in the war of Philip, they granted commissions to arm vessels and garrisons for defense against the enemy.

The law says: "Some under pretence of conscience, have taken liberty to act contrary and make void the power and authority of the military, so necessary to be upheld and maintained, that the civil power, (in which the whole freedom and privileges of his Majesty's subjects are kept and preserved,) cannot without it be executed, and have so far acted therein, that this his Majesty's Colony at this time is in effect wholly destitute of the military forces for the preservation thereof, and inhabitants therein, and may thereby be made a prey unto the weakest and meanest of his Majesty's enemies."

The law proceeds to specify the means whereby the military art shall be more fully understood and practiced. It then expresses

* R. I. Col. Rec.

† Backus, vol. i. p. 466.

‡ Rec. of R. I.

1677.]

the subsequent clause: "Provided always, and this Assembly do hereby declare that it is their full and unanimous resolution to maintain full liberty in religious concerns relating to the worship of God, and that no person, inhabiting in this jurisdiction, shall be any wise molested, punished, disquieted, or called in question for any difference in opinion in matters of religion, who does not actually disturb the civil peace of this Colony." The last part of this sentence might be so construed by a majority, as to be called oppression or persecution by a minority. The other neighboring Colonies asserted that they arraigned no man for his faith, except it was manifested to the injury of the public peace. It is true that they made their definition of such peace cover more points than Rhode Island did.

10. Connecticut reply. They say to Rhode Island, you misrepresent "our loyal proceedings with your manner of forcible taking and accounting the lands, which so lie within the known and unknown limits of our charter, to be circumscribed in yours, because of a surreptitious procurement of a grant from our sovereign, upon an agreement by your agent pretended to be made with the Honorable John Winthrop, Esq., after he had done the business of his agency for this Colony, according to his commission. We have no cause to believe that your pretended *non obstante* will be countenanced, to prejudice our previous and positive firm charter of so just a prince."

June 28. Governor Coddington writes to George Fox about Williams's book against him. As a specimen of his style, we have the following extract:* "There is a lying, scandalous book of Roger Williams. I have known him about fifty years, a mere weathercock, constant only in inconstancy. Poor man! that doth not know what should become of his soul, if this night it should be taken from him." Bitter language, like this, was very prevalent among the Quakers, whenever expressing themselves against their opponents. They evidently imagined it to be in accordance with the gospel, though far from savoring of the mildness inculcated by such a divine dispensation, and from giving the best influence to their belief. As coming from the pen of its author, it may have had a deeper infusion of gall, from the probability that Williams's book had been a principal means of diminishing the numbers of his party, and recently ejecting him and them from political power.

August 16. William Coddington writes† to Ralph Fretwell of the proceedings against Margaret Brewster and other Quakers in Boston. John Easton, Jr., was one of her abettors.

September 1. Letters of this date are directed by Dr. Peter Chamberlain, of England,‡ a Seventh-day Baptist, to the Newport

* Backus, vol. i. p. 445. † Besse, vol. ii. p. 261. ‡ Backus, vol. i. p. 475.

church, under Elder Hiscox. One of them was for the Governor of Massachusetts, on the subject of religious freedom.

15. In their instructions to James Richards,* bound to England, and commissioned to obtain the royal confirmation of the Narragansett territory to them if he could, Connecticut say of it: "The country was planted in such a dissolute, forlorn and heathenish manner, as was both to the dishonor of God, our King and nation, and so forlornly situate as exposed it to ruin by the heathen."

Between November 27 and December 1, Samuel Gorton closed his long career. He was born at Groton, England, 1600. His sons were Samuel, John and Benjamin, and daughters, Maher, Mary, Sarah, Ann, Elizabeth and Susanna, all of whom had husbands. Aside from the events of his life, coming to our notice in course, others present themselves. When his supporters at Warwick united with those of Providence, Newport and Portsmouth, in 1649, for guarding against the apprehended effects of Coddington's exertions in London to obtain the government of the Island for life in himself, they sent him and others to attend the General Court. So it was in 1652. In 1651, he was a commissioner or deputy from Warwick to the Assembly of members from this town and Providence, and was their moderator. To the like body he was appointed the next year. For the Legislature, of representatives from four towns, the people of Warwick chose him from 1655 to 1660, and 1662-3, being eight years; then deputy, 1664 to '66, three years, Block Island being added to the places represented there for the last two years. Besides the general duties here implied, he had others to discharge. In 1655, Mr. Gorton was on a committee to sign letters to the Lord President and Rev. John Clark, in London. It was so in 1658. In 1656, he was designated on a committee to treat with Pimham and company, and 1658, to write to Plymouth Colony, and the Commissioners of the United Colonies.

By this review, we perceive a marked difference between the former and latter Colonial conduct of Gorton,—in that he indulged his passions with perilous violence, as at Plymouth, Rhode Island and Providence; and Savage calls him "a most active religious disturber of several places." Dean says, "Indeed, he was a sort of fire-brand in the midst of the little communities into which he was here thrown." But such fault he wisely reformed. The change was profitable to his interests, and honorable to his reputation. To the question, in what particular school of divinity must we look for his religious principles, he has left us no explicit direction. Roger Williams charged him with "denying all visible and external ordinances, in depth of *fanilism*." Norton states, "that he discovered himself to be deeply leavened with blasphem-

* Conn. Col. Journal.

1678.]

ous and familistical opinions." The most careful analysis of his belief, which has come to us, is that of the Massachusetts General Court, in 1643, when Gorton was on trial before them for heresy. This body charged what he had written as proving him an enemy to the religion and ordinances of Christ and to civil authority. In the exercise of his privilege on trial, he denied the charge. Still the Court, composed of Puritan church members, decided that he was guilty. While their verdict would consistently harmonize with that of all who examined the case from the like stand-point, it would vary in the judgment of others, as they assumed a different position. Still, inspired truth is immutable, and its confirmation in judgment, everlasting.

1678. March 2. Elder Hiscox, of Newport,* baptizes Naomi Burdick, who had married Jonathan Rogers; also James Babcock, George Lamphere and two others, at Westerly.

April 8. Edmund Andros, Governor of New York, reports to the Lords of Trade and Plantations,† that Quakers are the most numerous denomination in Rhode Island, but "the government is now out of their hands."

May 5. Joseph Clarke writes,‡ from Westerly, to his father Hubbard, of Newport, that John and James Rogers, with their father, are imprisoned. The three latter persons, having persuaded themselves that it was their duty to oppose public worship on the first day of the week, and to work upon it, and having thus disturbed the public peace in Connecticut, the authorities here had them confined. The church under Hiscox informed of this, soon sent messengers to New London, so that they might learn the cause and particulars of the Rogers's imprisonment.

June 12. On petition of Rachel Address,§ that she may be divorced from her husband, Richard Address, who has been absent from the Colony several years, and she has heard nothing of him, and it being proved that he has a wife in England, the Assembly grant her request.

July 3. Petition of Richard Smith and others is laid before the Council at White Hall, London. It states that about seven years ago a like paper was presented to his Majesty by the hand of said Smith, signed by the principal inhabitants and proprietors, "setting forth the many irregularities in the proceedings of the Government of Rhode Island, and humbly praying your Majesty's relief therein; but the wars with Holland and other weighty affairs of state intervening, your petitioners were ordered to a more convenient time; by which means, your petitioners are without any settled Government; that in the time of the late Indian war, the petitioners sent to the Government of Rhode Island for their protection and

* Backus, vol. i. p. 475.

† Backus, vol. i. p. 475.

‡ Com'rs for N. E. papers.

§ R. I. Col. Rec.

defense, which was absolutely denied them, the then Governor of Rhode Island being a Quaker, and thought it perhaps not lawful either to give commission or take up arms; so that their towns, goods, corn and cattle, were by the savage natives burnt and totally destroyed; whereby the petitioners are become great sufferers in their estates and fortunes." They therefore desire his Majesty to order that Rhode Island cease from exercising authority over the inhabitants of the Narragansett country, and that they and other inhabitants of the Islands Quonanicutt, Hope, Patience, and Dutch Island, may be restored to Connecticut. This petition is referred to the Lords Committee of the Board for Trade and Plantations.

On December 13, the King orders that the Rhode Island magistrates exercise authority of Justices of the Peace over Narragansett country or King's province.

October 2. A copy of Randall Holden's and John Green's communication* to the Lords of Trade and Plantations, is laid before the Legislature of Massachusetts, having been sent to them by their agents in London. Holden and his associate call themselves deputies of Warwick. They mention the Bay agents as representing "your petitioners, together with Samuel Gorton, as vagabonds and fomenters of disquiet; it appears by their own confession, that the Government of the Massachusetts, together with those of Plymouth and Connecticut, were the persecutors of your petitioners and others, those loyal persons who could not submit to their new fangled inventions and rigid discipline." They proceed: "It is matter much to be wondered at, that these agents should make complaint to your Lordships against one Gorton, so opprobriously stigmatizing him for a grand heresiarch, when, in the mean time, it might easily be made to appear that none have been so great heretics and schismatics as themselves." They thus express themselves, evidently intending to make the most of the prejudice which the King had against Massachusetts, so that their purposes might be accomplished. They even charge the Colony, last named, with being the cause of all difficulties with the Indians, and propose the question whether, so far from having any proportionate claim to Narragansett or the King's Province, and Warwick, by right of conquest, they should not pay Rhode Island for all their damages, accruing from Philip's war! They petition in behalf of the latter plantation, that their Lordships would move "His Majesty to erect a Supreme Court of Judicature over all the Colonies in New England, and that his own royal authority may be there so established, that justice may be equally distributed to all; that the long disputes and differences about boundaries may be decided, and his Majesty's loyal subjects, who have too long groaned under the oppression of an insulting and tyrannical government, may

* Mass. Gen. Ct. Rec.

1678.]

be relieved, without which ruin and desolation will inevitably fall upon the plantations by a civil war." Though these accusers may have had some ground of complaint, from the long collisions of imperfect human nature, yet so loose had been their ideas of constitutional law and order, they had more cause to blame their own erroneous judgment than the Bay authorities. They go on to request that Connecticut may be commanded to restore Westerly, a town which they claimed as within their bounds; and that all sentences given by Massachusetts and others against inhabitants of Warwick may be repealed, and especially the sentence of banishment against Holden, in 1643.

October 8. Governor Lect, of Connecticut, dates a letter* to Elder William Hiscox and his church at Newport, relative to a communication from Dr. Chamberlain, of London, and to the imprisonment of John and James Rogers and their father, Seventh-day Baptists.

This year, "A New England Fire-brand Quenched," being an answer by George Fox and John Burnyeat, to "George Fox Dugged out of his Burrows," by Roger Williams, is printed. The Appendix of the work is subscribed with the initials of the authors, July, 1677. It is principally a review of Williams's book. It states that on his visit to Rhode Island, Fox "did turn many to the Lord Jesus Christ, both at Providence and Newport." In reference to the name of his order, it remarks: "Thou sayest thou hast cause to judge, that the word Quaker was given us from that strange possession of our bodies of quaking and shaking. Answer. Gervase Bennet, Justice of Derby, gave us that name, because I and we bid him and his company tremble at the word of God." As a specimen of its manner, a few lines are given at the close of the Appendix. "Thou scoffingly sayest, I fear G. F. is so taken up with his sitting with Christ in heavenly places, with immediate dictates of his supposed Holy Spirit, I fear his case. And thou, that sittest not in the heavenly places in Christ Jesus, where dost thou sit, R. W., and ye New England priests and professors? In sin and death and old Adam? Thou, that sittest not here in this heavenly place, art yet dead in thy sins, unquickened; and read thy sitting, thy life and conversation: Ephes. ii. 2, 3. And neither R. W. nor ye New England priests can pluck us out of the heavenly places in Christ Jesus, where God hath raised us up by his Spirit above your sin and death, where thou and the New England priests sit, and rail and scoff and persecute them."

November 1. William Coddington dies, aged seventy-seven. He came from Boston, Lincolnshire, England, and settled as a merchant, 1630, in the town of the same name, in Massachusetts. He

* Backus, vol. i. p. 477.

was elected an Assistant for the Colony, before his emigration, March 18, 1630, and appeared at the Court in Charlestown the 7th of next September. Near this time he was called to mourn the decease of his wife. He was elected Assistant, 1632, and so continued six years to 1638. He was appointed Treasurer, May 14, 1634, and also the next year. On the 4th of March, 1635, he became member of the Board for military concerns of the Colony, and of a committee to license settlers at Cochiowicke. On May 25, 1636, he is united with others to hold courts for Boston, Roxbury, Dorchester, Weymouth and Hingham.

Shortly before the expedition from Massachusetts against Block Island and the Pequods in August, 1636, he was one of the Commissioners who made peace in behalf of this Colony with the Narragansetts, through Canonicus and Miantinomo, their chief sachems. On March 9, 1637, he is put on a committee to settle claims of soldiers in this expedition.

At sessions of the General Court, September 26 and November 2, the same year, he appears as Deputy from Boston. He takes a prominent part this year, in favor of Mrs. Ann Hutchinson's sentiments, which proves the occasion of his banishment. Winthrop recorded, "Mr. Coddington, being with his wife taken with the familistic opinions, removed to Aquidnay Island."

A constitution of government being formed at Portsmouth, Rhode Island, in 1638, William Coddington is its first signer. On the same occasion, eighteen freemen elect him the Judge of the Colony, and his council under the name of Elders. Such official titles were continued to March 12, 1640, when they were changed for Governor and Assistants. Their agreement is, that they "will submit their persons, lives and estates unto their Lord Jesus Christ, the King of Kings and Lord of Lords, and to all the perfect laws given in his holy word of truth, to be guided and judged thereby."

March 24, 1638, he receives a deed of Aquedneck Island, from Canonicus and Miantinomo, and also of other islands, except Chibbachuwet, called Prudence,* "for forty fathoms of white beads" or wampum. His previous acquaintance with these chiefs must have contributed to the convenience of this contract. He also paid gratuities for such a purchase in 1639, to several sachems.

April 28, 1639, Mr. Coddington is chosen Judge of the persons who agree to promote a settlement at Pocasset, or Newport, where they subscribe the constitution. Being continued Governor into 1642, he is elected on September 19, of this year, chairman of a committee to obtain a Patent for Rhode Island, and correspond with Sir Henry Vane on the subject.

* Sold to Governor Winthrop and Roger Williams, June 3, 1638.

1678.]

In May, 1647, he is appointed Assistant for Newport, and May 16, of next year, President of Providence plantations. The latter appointment appears to have been chiefly for political considerations. It is probable that he, having embarked for England the preceding January, had so begun to operate for a Charter of the Island, that its control might be vested in himself, the electors at home had heard of it and endeavored to win him from his purpose by such a choice.

A chief inducement for him to decline connection in government with the two towns on the Main, was his strong repugnance to being brought in immediate relation with Samuel Gorton. But about two months before he embarked for London, he expressed to Governor Winthrop his unyielding opposition to the allowance of the freedom of the Island to Gorton and his company.

Coddington remaining in England till the summer of 1651, when he brought home a Charter of Rhode Island, which empowered him as Governor for life, Providence and Warwick protest against this privilege. Forty-one persons of Portsmouth and sixty-five of Newport did not approve of his course, and therefore they unite in sending John Clark, one of their original proprietors, to solicit in London, a repeal of Coddington's commission. As this document was supposed to have vacated the Charter of Providence and Warwick, Roger Williams is chosen by them to go on a similar agency. Clark and Williams sailed from Boston in November.

April 14, 1652. As the eighteen associates who bought Rhode Island of the two sachems with Coddington, were very uneasy that he had not transferred to them such property, he now complies with their request. Seeing that he had obtained a Charter to govern the Island for life, he could not be surprised that they sought for a legal claim of their rights, so that they might enforce them if he endeavored to hold his grant from the Crown.

May 17, 1653. The General Assembly of freemen of Newport and Portsmouth, send two messengers to Coddington for the Records and Statutes. He replies, that he will advise with his council and then answer. He says that "he dare not lay down his commission, having no order thereto, nor has he seen any thing to show that his commission is annulled. On June 4, Providence and Warwick remonstrate against the government of Coddington and Council. On the 31st of August, 1654, the four towns unite in one Colonial government, under the Providence Charter, and thus practically nullify Coddington's commission.

March 11, 1656, he is a member from Newport, among the Commissioners. In their presence, he publicly agrees as follows: "I, William Coddington, do freely submit to the authority of His Highness in this Colony as it is now united, and that with all my

heart." On the 17th, the General Assembly, in reference to a complaint that, as some difficulties about Mr. Coddington were not settled by orders from England, it would be well for him not to sit among them for the present, expressing their wish that Mr. Clark may be written to, "declaring their good desires and apprehensions conceived from Mr. Coddington's demonstrations of good affection to the Government, as also of their own satisfaction generally in the Colony, in the matters of complaint premised." Thus the matter of his having obtained a charter to be Governor for life of the Island, is allowed to pass.

March 9, 1665, Coddington and others, who had become Quakers, write from Newport to the Royal Commissioners. These reply to them on the 13th, having on the 4th dated their "five proposals" to them. On the 3d of May, Governor Arnold sent for such Quakers, and delivered to them the two latter communications.

March 27, 1666, he appears in the Legislature as Deputy from Newport; May 2, September 4, and October 31, as an Assistant. 1673, he was Deputy Governor; the next two years, he was Governor. 1678, August 28, he is chosen to succeed Benedict Arnold, deceased, in this office, and so continues short of three months, till his own summons from earth.

He married, according to Savage, Mary, daughter to Richard Moseley, of Ousedon, Suffolk, England. She died a few weeks after his arrival in this Colony. He married for his second wife, Mary, and, being back in England, had a child, 1632, and soon returned to Boston, where he had Mary, born 2d March, 1634; Benajah, May, 1636. His second wife was buried at Newport, 30th September, 1647. While in England, whither he took his daughter, he got a third wife, Ann. He had children, William, born 18th January, 1651; Nathaniel, 23d May, 1653; Mary, 16th May, 1654; Thomas, 5th November, 1655; John, 24th November, 1656; Noah, 12th December, 1658; Ann, 6th June, 1660, and Ann, 20th July, 1663. He left widow Ann, who died 9th May, 1708, aged eighty.

Mr. Coddington was a highly intelligent and respectable merchant. His adoption of Mrs. Hutchinson's opinions drew him from the even tenor of his way, and brought him into the long troubled waters of Rhode Island. His embracing the doctrines of George Fox, according to their then too common influence, increased his zeal and severity towards those who opposed them. This led him to speak of Roger Williams in a vituperative style, painful to such as respect the founder of Providence, who, though subject to the common imperfections of humanity, had remarkable talents and attainments, and many distinguished virtues.

1675.]

CONNECTICUT.

1675. March. Elder Hiscox, Samuel Hubbard and his son-in-law, and Joseph Clark, of the Newport church,* visit the Rogers family at New London. Jonathan, another son, is baptized. He and the three previously mentioned, were admitted members of Elder Hiscox's church.

March 22. In compliance with instructions from the Connecticut rulers to the churches, these keep a day of fasting and prayer, confession of public sins and renewal of covenant. A condensation of the last,† as done by the church of Norwich, follows. An influential occasion for such services was the desolating war with Philip.

1. "All males who are eight or nine years of age, shall be presented before the Lord in his congregation every Lord's day to be catechised, until they be about thirteen in age.

2. "Those about thirteen years of age, both male and female, shall frequent the meetings appointed in private for their instruction, while they continue under family government, or until they are received to full communion in the church.

3. "Adults who do not endeavor to take hold of the covenant shall be excommunicated.

4. "Brethren shall be appointed to admonish those parents who are negligent of their children.

5. "The Lord's supper shall be celebrated once in every six weeks.

6. "Erring brethren are to be rebuked.

7. "Finally, seeing we feel by woful experience how prone we are soon to forget the works of the Lord and our vows, we do agree and determine that this writing or contents of it shall be once in every year read in a day of fasting and prayer before the Lord and his congregation; and shall leave it with our children, that they do the same in their solemn days of mourning before the Lord, that they may never forget how their fathers, ready to perish in a strange land, and with sore grief and trembling of heart, and yet hope in the tender mercy and good will of Him who dwelt in the burning bush, did thus solemnly renew their covenant with God; and that our children after us may not provoke the Lord and be cast off as a degenerate offspring, but may tremble at the commandment of God, and learn to place their hope in him, who although he hath given us a cup of astonishment to drink, yet will display his banner over them who fear him."

May 1. Andros, Governor of New York, desires the General Court of Connecticut to deliver up the territory contained in the patent of his Colony. On the 17th, they reply that they have no

* Backus, vol. i. p. 474.

† D. C. Gilman's Address, p. 30, 94.

more soil, under their authority, than they justly own.* They add, "Therefore, to our obliged duty, we are firmly resolved (as hitherto) by the gracious assistance of Almighty God to continue (in obedience to his Majesty) in the management of what we are be-trusted with." He soon answers them. He remarks that he had been informed that New Haven Colony had regretted, when too late, that they had agreed to merge themselves into Connecticut. He declares that if they refuse compliance with his wish, he shall protest against them as disobedient and refractory subjects of his Majesty. On June 16, the Governor and Council write to Andros. They say that they have no evidence of what he states concerning the union of New Haven with Connecticut; they do not understand the Duke of York's patent and their own as he interprets them; they expected a friendly conference about the points at issue, before a protest, and they still desire a neighborly correspondence.

13. A petition of Joseph Hawkins and John Hull is presented to the Assembly for a plantation at Pagawsett, a part of Milford, where are twelve families and eleven more preparing to join them; and it states "that they have engaged a minister to come and settle with them." It was allowed, and the place named Derby.

The Court grant the request of Wallingford to become a church, with the approval of neighbor churches. They "desire the Lord's gracious presence and blessing may crown their endeavors with such success as may advance the glory of God and their spiritual good and edification."

22. In view of blastings and mildews on the fruits of the field, unseasonable weather, great rains, and of threatened judgments, Fast is ordered on first Wednesday of June.

31. On the petition of Robin Causacinnamon,† overseer of the Pequods, the General Court, through their Committee, appoint laws for the government of these Indians. Among such laws are the following: "That whosoever shall oppose or speak against the only living and true God, the Creator and Ruler of all things, shall be brought to some English Court to be punished, as the nature of the offense may require. That whosoever shall powow, or use witchcraft, or any worship to the devil or any false god, shall be convented and punished." Whoever profanes the Sabbath shall be fined 10/., or "be sharply whipped."

"It is ordered that a ready and comely attendance be given to hear the word of God preached by Mr. Fitch, or any other minister sent amongst them."

July 1. Council of War write‡ to magistrates of New Haven, that the insurgents "are engaging the Indians round about by sending

* Conn. Col. Rec. App. xix.

† Conn. Gen. Ct. Rec.

‡ Conn. Council Journal, p. 332.

1675.]

locks of some English they have slain, from one place to another."

4. Andros, Governor of New York, replies* to Winthrop, Governor of Connecticut. "I received yours of the 1st inst., of the Indians being in arms in Plymouth Colony, and their having destroyed several Christians to the eastward of you, and apprehension of their trending further to you wards. I am very much troubled at the Christians' misfortunes and hard disasters in these parts, being so overpowered by such heathen." He states his coming with a force to "Connecticut River, his Royal Highness's bounds there." This was news unwelcome to Connecticut, because they suspected his intention to take possession of Saybrook, as he soon manifested, under the occasion of resistance to the Indians.

On the 10th, the Assembly protest against Andros's coming with force into their jurisdiction, to take the territory claimed by the Duke of York's Patent, especially "when the heathen rage against the English, and by fire and sword have destroyed many of his Majesty's good subjects, our neighbors of Plymouth Colony, and still are carrying their heads about the country as trophies of their good success."

11. Major Andros draws nearer to the fort of Saybrook, with several armed sloops, and displaying the King's flag, demands the surrender of the place. Captain Bull, who had arrived with his company as ordered, made preparations to resist, and also raised the royal colors.

12. The Major desires to come on shore and converse with the principal officers and ministers. He and his suite are allowed to do this. In the meanwhile, the protest of the Assembly had been handed to the Captain, who observed to the Major, that he was empowered by such a document to leave the matters in controversy with suitable Commissioners. The Major rejected the proposal, and commanded, in the name of the King, that the Duke's Patent and his own commission be read. The Captain as peremptorily ordered, by the same authority, that they should not be read. When the clerk of Andros attempted to read the documents, Bull forbade this with such a look and tone, that he stopped. The Captain then remarked that he had a protest to the Major and would read it, which he did. Andros said to him, "What's your name?" The reply was, "My name is Bull, sir." "Bull," said the Major, "It's a pity that your horns are not tipped with silver." Andros, perceiving that he could not prevail by force, went on board and soon sailed for Long Island. On hearing of this intrusion, the Assembly passed a resolution which censured it, and copies of which they forwarded "to the several plantations." Though Andros came to Connecticut under the plea of contending

against Philip's forces, at the same time his purpose was, as he wrote to James, successor to Charles II., to surprise the territory he claimed, and keep possession of it, by a fort at Saybrook.

August 26. The Council,* in view of the "dispensation of the Most High against his wilderness people in sending forth his sword into the land, and blowing on the designs of the English so many ways," for "great neglect of the gospel of Christ," and other sins,—order that a Fast be observed throughout the Colony, "the same 4th day of the week monthly, till further orders."

27. The Council desire John Whiting "to go forth with our army, to assist them in preaching, prayer, counsel and exhortation."

30. Among the instructions of Major Treat, about marching to co-operate with the Massachusetts forces, is the subsequent order: "In all places of your travels, march or abode, you are to see well to the carriage and behaviour of all under your command, that it be sober, Christian and comely, both in words and deeds, according to gospel profession, before the heathen and in the sight of all men; that so the name of our God be not dishonoured by ourselves, while we are endeavouring to vindicate the same against the heathen's wickedness and blasphemies."

October 5. Rev. Thomas James, settled at Easthampton, writes to Governor Andros, of New York.† Having stated that he wrote a petition to him for the Montauk Indians, that they might have their arms restored to them,—he says that the English where he lives are much opposed to having such a request allowed, especially since the slaughter committed by Philip's followers. He then relates: "Your Honour's Predecessor wrote several letters to me to stir me up about instructing the Indians in the knowledge of God and his Religion, and that he would further and encourage the business, so far as lay in his power. I do think if your Honour be pleased to set in at this time, it may be a good promotion of that work, which, as I have seen in several writings of his most excellent Majesty, the King, his pious desires expressed for the putting forward the work." Mr. James settled at Easthampton, 1650. "He learned the Indian language and translated the catechism and parts of the Bible" into this tongue. He gained in a great degree, the confidence of the Indians. He died, June 16, 1696.

14. The Assembly take the following order: "Whereas reading the Scriptures, catechising of children, and daily prayer with giving thanks, is a part of God's worship and the homage due to him, to be attended conscientiously by every Christian family," the Court "solemnly recommend it to the ministry to look into the state of such families as neglect such duty; convince them of and instruct them in their duty, and by all means encourage them."

The townsmen are to aid the ministers "for the reformation and

* Council Rec.

† Thompson's Long Is. Easton's Philip's War, p. 86, 7.

1676.]

education of the children in good literature and the knowledge of the Scriptures."

Heads of families, who will not reform, shall be presented by the Grand Jury to the County Courts, to be fined, or punished, or bound to good behavior, as the case may demand. Young persons are required to live in praying families. Excess in apparel is forbidden.

Israel Chauncy, of Stratford, is appointed chaplain of the forces under Major Robert Treat.

19. The Council reply to Governor Andros, of New York, who wrote them that there was a general confederacy among the Indians, and that they intended to attack Hartford and other places as far as Greenwich. They say: "Although we have all this summer been alarmed and greatly distressed, and charged by hostile appearances from almost every of the ports and parts of this Colony, wherein our God hath made us to be as a bush burning, yet not consumed, in the midst of these flames; notwithstanding which, we most thankfully accept your friendly lines of intelligence posted to us so seasonably."

20. Gershom Bulkley, of Wethersfield, is appointed chirurgion of the army, and he and Mr. Chauncy to be members of the council of war.

21. Any male person, over fourteen, or under seventy years old, who leaves the Colony without license from proper authority, while the war continues, and thus "led by inordinate fear to distrust of God's providence," shall forfeit £100, or be liable to corporal punishment according to his offense.

November 22. In compliance with the proposal of the Commissioners, the Council appoint December 2, "as a solemn day of public prayer and humiliation; to supplicate the Lord's pardoning mercy and compassion towards his poor people, and for success in our endeavors for repelling of the rage and insolence of the enemy."

December 11. As James Noyes could not attend to the duty of chaplain assigned to him, Nicholas Noyes is appointed to take his place.

17. The Council appoint a Convention of the ministers in Fairfield and New Haven Counties, with Messrs. Woodbridge and Buckingham, to meet, next week, at New Haven, "in the fear of God, to make diligent search for those evils amongst us which have stirred up the Lord's anger against us, that they, being discovered, may, by repentance and reformation, be thrown out of our camp and our hearts." They were, also, desired to send up their conclusions to the Council, the following week, by Mr. Wakeman and Mr. Eliot.

1676. January 10. The Council appoint* regulations for the forces under Robert Treat, ordered against the enemy. Some of

them are mentioned. "Whosoever shall presume to blaspheme the holy and blessed Trinity, God the Father, God the Son, or God the Holy Ghost, shall suffer the pains of having his tongue bored through with a red-hot iron. Unlawful oaths or execrations and scandalous acts in derogation of God's honor, shall be punished with loss of pay, and other punishments at discretion. All those who often and willfully absent themselves from the public worship of God and prayer, shall be proceeded against at discretion."

John Brackett, chirurgeon, of Wallingford, is appointed to take care of the wounded, instead of Gershom Bulkley, who is engaged as chaplain of the army. Mr. John Wise, of Branford, is appointed chaplain of the same detachment.

19. The Council send a letter to Mr. Fitch, the minister, requesting him to visit New London and encourage the soldiers there concerning the expedition, and to accompany them, "if it may be," which he did.

23. Major Treat sends information from New London to the Council, that after much difficulty, he "intends, God willing," to begin his march on the morrow. He closes thus: "I beg your prayers to the God of wisdom, courage and strength, to be with me and all that turn the battle to the gate when the Lord shall thereto."

February 10. The Council answer the inquiry of Andros, dated the 4th instant, whether they would admit forces of New York, "Christians or Indians, particularly Maquas and Seneques to pursue Philip and his men into their Colony, and afford supplies to such allies." They say that they should like to have the two nations of Indians, whom he particularly designates, tried on this subject, before they would particularly engage. They mention a report that Philip had "saluted the Mohawks with a great present of £300, to engage them against the English," or remain neutral.

John Woodbridge, minister of Kenilworth, and freeman, 1669, going to the Bay with his wife, is allowed to transport forty or fifty bushels of grain thither.

12. The following order is passed by the Council. "The consideration of the goodness and mercy of God to us (in this day of trouble) in continuing of liberties and precious enjoyments, and so great a measure of health in our plantations, together with preservation of our provisions and habitations in time of such devastation; and for the special mercy of God to us, in answering the prayers of his people, (though by terrible things in righteousness,) in giving such an overthrow to the enemy at the fort, in the Narragansett fight; and also, for the mercy of God to us in the last expedition, in causing the enemy some to fall and the rest flee before us; and returning of the soldiers with so little loss; these things have moved us to appoint the 23d of this

1676.]

instant month, to be solemnly kept a day of public thanksgiving throughout this Colony, and to bless God for those his mercies, and to pray for his farther goodness and protection to be manifested to us, as the very matter may require."

Mr. Belcher has a permit to transport four hundred bushels of corn and pease to Boston for the praying Indians, and twenty bushels of wheat and fourteen pounds of leather for his own family.

18. Messrs. Bulkley and John Hull are requested to go forth as chaplains, with the forces. The latter person was presented as a freeman, May 13, 1669, then of Kenilworth.

25. A lot is cast to decide who of two persons,* Thomas Watts and John Stanley, should "go forth with the army, captain of the county of Hartford soldiers." It fell on Watts.

March 7. They order "that the collections drawn up by the ministers," with their own injunctions, "be sent forth and attended."

9. The Council desire that Samuel Hooker, minister, be notified to prepare himself for accompanying the forces under Major Treat to Northampton or Hadley.

11. They appoint Mr. Chauncy, minister, instead of Mr. Hooker, as one of the council of the army, and also as their chirurgion.

13. James Fitch, minister at Norwich, writes to the Council in reply to their proclamation for a Fast. His words follow: "Blessed be the Lord, who hath moved your hearts in so necessary and seasonable a work. We intend, God willing, to take that very day, solemnly to renew our covenant in our church state, according to the example of Ezra's time, and as was sometimes practiced in Hartford congregation by Mr. Stone, not long after Mr. Hooker's death. If other churches do not see cause to do the same, yet we hope it will not be offensive; but do verily conclude if there be rule for that practice, this is a time wherein the providence of God does in a knocking and terrible manner call for it."

James Bishop and Roger Newton, of Milford, propose to the Governor and Council that the church children be called on to fulfill their covenant obligations.

For the encouragement of volunteers, whether English or Indians, who go forth under Captains Denison, Avery, Lieut. Minor and Ensign Thomas Leffingwell, they "shall have all such plunder as they shall seize, both of persons and corn or other estate, to be disposed by them in way of sale, so as they may best advantage themselves, provided authority have had the first tender of their dispose of captives, allowing them the market price."

25. Mr. Fitch has orders to accompany, as chaplain, the troops under Major Treat, in pursuit of the enemy who were in Narragansett.

April 5. Major Edward Palmes writes from New London to

the Council "of the good success God hath given our forces in this last expedition." This refers to what Captains Denison and Avery and their men had achieved.

Among the prisoners was Canonchet or Nanuntenuo, the principal surviving sachem of Narragansett, and the son of Miantonomo. He was condemned at Stonington to be shot to death. The sentence was executed by a young Mohegan sachem and two Pequod sachems. His head was cut off and sent to Hartford, and the remainder of his body was burnt.

Mr. Chauncy, chaplain, having heard that his child was dead and his wife dangerously ill, asks leave to visit her. He remarks: "I hope my brother Bulkley, provided he have an easy and able horse, will attend the army, upon their present motion." In the early part of the month, Mr. Bulkley was wounded by a shot from the enemy.

John Winthrop, the Governor, dies. He was son of the Governor of Massachusetts, born at Groton, Suffolk county, England, February 12, 1606, and studied at the universities of Cambridge and Dublin. After leaving his collegiate course, he traveled in France, Holland, Flanders, Italy, Germany and Turkey. He accompanied his wife to Massachusetts, 1631. She was Martha, daughter of Rev. Henry Painter, and died at Ipswich, 1634. His second wife was Elizabeth Read, daughter to Rev. Hugh Peters's first wife. By this marriage he had sons, Fitz-John, Waitstill, and three daughters. He was elected one of the Assistants for the Bay in 1632, and so continued till 1650. He was chosen, 1635, Governor of the plantation owned by Lords Say, Brook and others, at the mouth of Connecticut river. He was a Lieutenant Colonel of Essex Regiment, under John Endicott. The next year, his father writes to him as still Governor at Saybrook. As George Fenwick, a principal proprietor of that settlement, had emigrated thither the year in which Winthrop was appointed to take charge of it, and the latter resided at Ipswich of the Bay, 1638 and 1639, it appears that for these two last years, if not some time before, Fenwick had succeeded to the trust of Winthrop as chief magistrate.

In 1640, the General Court of Massachusetts grant Winthrop Fisher's Island, at the mouth of Pequod river. The following year, he sailed for England. He receives from the Bay authorities, 1644, a plantation at Pequod for iron works. Two years afterwards, he and others begin a settlement in the same country, at Southertown or Stonington. Here he was commissioned to rule the people, with the aid of Thomas Peters. This territory, Massachusetts considered as their portion by right of assisting to conquer the Pequods, its original occupants, though claimed by Connecticut at the same time. In 1647 and '48, the last colony authorize him to act as a Justice. He was nominated for one of the assist-

1676.]

ants or magistrates of Connecticut, 1649, but was not elected, probably because he was not one of their freemen, but he was made so the next year. He was chosen magistrate, 1651 to 1656, inclusive; Governor in 1657, the next year; Deputy Governor, and then Governor, 1659, to the year of his decease. He went to England, 1661, and obtained a charter for the union of Connecticut and New Haven, as one Colony. He was long a Commissioner of the union, and in the discharge of duties of that trust, he visited Boston, where he died and was buried in the tomb of his father. He was associated with Robert Boyle and Bishop Wilkins in constituting the Royal Society in London. He corresponded with Tycho Brahe, Galileo, Kepler, Milton, Lord Napier, Sir Isaac Newton, Sir Henry Wotton, and other distinguished characters of Europe. He was distinguished for his talents, science, usefulness and piety. He not only wished for the rest of immortality, but he conspicuously complied with its most reasonable conditions. A letter of condolence from the Council of Massachusetts to the like body of Connecticut, says of the deceased: "Who hath for so long a time been eminently a public ornament, honor and blessing, not only to your Colony in particular, but this whole country."

29. A letter from Mr. John Russell and others of Hadley to the Council, says of the people there, their "spirits (were) more than ever heightened with desire and earnestness to be going forth against the enemy."

May 15. The Council appoint Mr. Bulkley, surgeon, and Mr. Fitch, minister of forces now ordered. Trumbull says the former "was one of the greatest physicians and surgeons then in Connecticut."

16. They order that every person "found sporting in the streets or fields after sunset," of either Saturday or Sunday night, or drinking at a public house or elsewhere, "unless for necessity," shall pay 10/. for each of such offenses. They require that "no servile work shall be done on the Sabbath, viz., such as is not of piety, charity or necessity, and no profane discourse or talk, rude or unreverent behaviour shall be used on that holy day, upon penalty of 10/. for every transgression hereof."

Ministers and the "townsmen" are to use means for inducing heads of families who neglect reading the Scriptures, daily prayer, giving thanks, and catechising their children, to reform. They order that if such parents do not amend, they shall be presented by the grand jury and dealt with as their case requires.

26. Samuel Stone, as appointed by the Council, proposes to

NOTE.—May 24. Capt. Benjamin Newbury recounts his preparations to the Council, and "propounds whether it may not do well that Samuel Cross and those *dogs* he hath, may not be advantageous to the present motion, to be sent up." These animals were to pursue Indians.

preach for Mr. Bulkley while the latter is in public service. He was paid by the Council 20/. a Sabbath.

A letter being laid before the Council, from John Kingsley at Rehoboth, imploring help for the famishing, they desire that a contribution may be made. The secretary, under date of 30th, sends a notice to the people. This paper recites the distresses occasioned by the enemy in Plymouth Colony, and says: "We have thought fit to recommend it to your pious consideration to remember the poor and them that are in bonds, as bound with them. We desire that you would appoint one in each congregation to receive your liberality, and to take care for the speedy and effectual sending the same to Boston and Seaconck, to be distributed to those in necessities." It states that Deacon Walker, of Seaconck, would receive and distribute what was sent thither, and that Messrs. Thacher and Mather, of Boston, would see that the rest was divided among the needy of Massachusetts and Plymouth Colonies.

29. Mr. Fitch writes to the Council that his health and his "constant occasions with the Indians," will not allow his connection with the army as chaplain, and he desires that Mr. Noyes, of Stonington, may supply his place. Still he continued to go. He requests that his people and those of Stonington be protected, lest they be exposed to enemies, provoked with them for their late expeditions. He remarks: "The good will of Him who dwelt in the burning bush, dwell in the midst of his people, and the angel of his presence be our leader."

The Council, in their letter to Major Talbot, say: We "pray that the God of armies, the Lord of hosts, may go before you, encourage your hearts, strengthen your hands, fight your battles for you, dash the devices of the enemy, dismay, destroy and deliver them up into your hands, and return you with good success, in his own best time."

June 7. The Council write to Governor Leverett.* With respect to the decease of Mr. Winthrop, they say: "We request the continuance of your prayers to the Lord for us, that this solemn dispensation may be so sanctified to us, that we may thereby be brought to a deep humiliation for that which provokes the Lord against us, and to a true, unfeigned heart, returning to the Lord, from whom we have departed; and that the Lord would pour out a double portion of his Spirit upon those of us that do survive, that if it be his holy pleasure, his people may have some to go in and out before them." They express their obligation to him for having the corpse of Mr. Winthrop buried from his house. They sympathize with him in his bodily complaints, pray the Lord to rebuke his infirmities, long continue him a blessing to His "wilderness people," and carry him through all his difficulties.

1676.]

21. The Council order that Mr. John Hull attend the wounded men at Hartford, or Wethersfield.

24. They address a letter to James Richards and the Rev. Messrs. Thacher, Mather and Thomas Shepard, as to what was contributed by their churches. "The deep sense we would bear upon our hearts, of the great duty of fellow-feeling in the wants and distresses that, at this day of Jacob's trouble, are come upon our dear friends and brethren in some parts of the Massachusetts and Plymouth Colony, by reason of the rage and fury of the enemy, who have laid divers of their habitations and some places waste by fire, it hath moved the spirits of our people in this Colony, (though their estates are already exceedingly exhausted in aiding their neighbors in the wars with the Indians,) according to their present mean capacity, very willingly, through the mercy of God upon us, freely to contribute their benevolence for the succor of the poor." They observe that they shall appoint the collectors in the several churches, to send on what is designed for the gentlemen already named, as almoners of such charity.

July 1. They order that £8 of the late contribution be paid for forty bushels of wheat, at Hatfield, which Messrs. Russell, Stoddard and Mather are to dispose of, among the impoverished of that place.

10. They desire that the contributions made in Windsor be given to distressed persons who have fled thither, and to sufferers at Springfield and of the "upper towns."

They write to Mr. Fitch: "We are very thankful unto you for your great and good service you have done in marching along with our army these two last expeditions, and we find your service so acceptable not only to us, but to our soldiers, that we should much rejoice to find you willing to go forth again with them next week." They request him to encourage the "Moheags and Pequots" to march again against the enemy.

They desire Thomas Buckingham, of Saybrook, to serve as chaplain of the forces, in their next march, if Mr. Fitch declines.

This month, John, son of John Harriman, of New Haven, and a graduate from Harvard College, 1667, begins to preach for the church there. He taught the Hopkins grammar school there several years, and became the first minister of Elizabethtown, in New Jersey.

21. The Council, in view of late successes against the enemy, abatement of sickness, plentiful crop, "the yet preventing foreign designs against us, and continuance of our precious gospel liberties, do see cause to invert the next course of fasting days throughout this Colony into like solemn days of thanksgiving. With this thanksgiving it is therefore desired prayers may be joined for the melting of our hearts into more genuine humiliation and perfecting

reformation, that the Lord may proceed on in his saving mercies, to heal the land both of its breaches and declensions."

August 19. They require that the monthly stated Fasts be forborne, and that, for the overthrow of the enemy, the 30th inst. be kept as a day of public Thanksgiving.

September 18. John, James and Jonathan Rogers, and Japheth, members of Newport church of Seventh-day Baptists, but residents at New London, brought Elder Hiscox and Mr. Hubbard from the former to the latter place, and then James Rogers, Sen., his wife and daughter, were baptized and received as members of the said church. All these, for such a transaction, were forthwith arraigned before a magistrate, but were speedily released.* From this date, the Rogerses were continually imprisoned because they worked on the first day of the week, and otherwise disturbed the public peace.

October 19. The Assembly order, that as persons residing in a town where two separate churches existed, were legally required to be taxed for charges of one of them, it is now added, that if they do not elect the church to which they would be taxed, they shall be assessed one half to each church.

21. As John Rogers had adopted religious opinions which made his wife unhappy, she being "under great distress and hazard," the Assembly dissolve her conjugal bond to him. She was Elizabeth, daughter to Matthew Griswold, of Lyme. On October 18, of next year, she petitioned the Court that her children might be placed under her care, because her husband was "so heterodox in his opinion and practice." They, considering that he "utterly renounced all the visible worship of New England, and professedly declared against the Christian Sabbath," decide that she shall have the two children, and bring them up in the admonition of the Lord.

23. The Assembly grant leave to Sarah Towle, whose husband had deserted her and her child above six years, to marry another man, if she choose.

Considering the goodness of God in subduing the enemy and removing sickness, and continuing civil and ecclesiastical liberties, the Assembly appoint November 1, for a public Thanksgiving.

In view of the sad truth, that the Lord had delivered the people from judgments, but they had not suitably reformed, and "he is pleased to hold over us a threatening hand, by dark clouds impending afar off and near," the Court recommend that the ministers stir up their congregations to reform, and appoint a Fast Day on the 3d of November.

They order that Indians who surrender themselves before January, and cannot be proved murderers, shall not be sold out of the country, but in it, for ten years, if sixteen years old; and for twenty-six years, if under sixteen years old.

* Backus, vol. i. p. 474.

1677.]

1677. January 2. The Council prepare a letter for Massachusetts authorities. It gives information that they had received a communication from Nathaniel Mather, of Dublin, in Ireland, which said that a contribution of £1,000, collected there, was forwarded to Boston for the relief of distressed persons in the confederate Colonies.

They return their hearty thanks to Mr. Bulkley for his usefulness to the country, during the war, and order him £30 for what he had done, besides satisfying those who supplied his pulpit.

26. They agree to pay Samuel Stone for twenty-four Sabbaths, at 20/. each, on which he preached for ministers who were employed in the army.

February 3. They write to Mr. Fitch, desiring that he would influence Uncas to send a messenger to the Mohawks. This proposition was probably made with the purpose of reconciling the Indians, friendly to the Confederates, with the Mohawks, and thus prepare the way for the latter to contend more fully against the Eastern Indians.

March 2. The Discourses of Bacon* inform us that until the decease of Mr. Street, in 1674, the New Haven church paid their ministers for preaching from its treasury, which was supplied by voluntary contributions from the congregation; but that at the date heading this sentence, the town voted to discharge such an obligation by laying two rates and a half on the inhabitants for the ensuing year. Further action was taken to secure the collection of this tax, and "to prosecute such as fail in the payment." Thus was the support of the ministry transferred from the church to the town.

13. Two Indians, who surrendered and had been "accepted to mercy," but afterwards fled and were apprehended, are sentenced to be sold out of the Colony for slaves.

May 10. In view of the fact that the people injured by the war in Massachusetts and Plymouth, are far more so than in Connecticut, the Council relinquish their proportion of the Irish charity for the latter Colony, to the two others. The General Court pass a similar vote.

The General Assembly convene. They grant leave to Derby, for three years, to levy rates, one half on land within their bounds, and the rest on persons and estates, to meet expenses of the ministry as well as of the town. This is done because holders of land

* P. 489.

NOTE.—A surgeon's public service is set at 16s. a week.

NOTE.—March 2. In accordance with the King's instructions of the last November 3, the Council give notice, that Nathaniel Bacon, Jr., headed a rebellion in Virginia, and that if he or any of his adherents came into Connecticut, they should be seized and secured.

in the place did not assist towards such taxes, as it was supposed they should.

They allow Wallingford to raise their funds for liquidating the parish and municipal charges on land, until a majority shall see fit to have it altered.

14. They thank Mr. Hooker for his Election Sermon, and appoint the Treasurer to have it printed and distributed, "by proportion in the several towns."

15. Each town, legally bound to have a school, that "neglects the same above three months in the year, shall forfeit five pounds," which shall go towards the support of a Latin school in their county.

If any one of the enemy, who submitted at discretion, runs from his master, the latter shall have power to sell him out of the jurisdiction.

Simsbury have permission to "raise their rates for the ministry and town charges only upon lands for the next three years." In view of their loss, they are freed for the same period, from their country taxes.

18. As the law requires every county town to support a Latin school, any such corporation neglecting this duty, shall pay £10 to the next town in the county which conforms with the injunction, and the same sum annually till it obeys.

19. Volunteers having gone forth against the enemy and taken various captives, these are declared the lawful prize of those, and shall remain servants where their captors have disposed of them.

On a motion in favor of gentlemen owning lands in the Narragansett country, the Court declare that they will endeavor to settle them, "as may conduce to the honor of God and the public interest of the Colony and those concerned therein."

For this step they gave several reasons. They considered the act of the royal Commissioners in making Narragansett and Rhode Island a province for the King, as null, because they had no such power; the agreement of Mr. Winthrop with Mr. Clark was void, because when made, the former's agency had ceased, and he had already sent home the Connecticut Charter, and he had no instruction for such a contract. They also took the ground that the Rhode Island people forsook Narragansett in the war, and neglected to defend it; that Connecticut volunteers drove the enemy out of it and kept possession of the territory. This subject had been the source of much discussion and other trouble between Rhode Island and Connecticut, and so continued to be.

Considering the remarkable mercies which God has shown, and the needed reformation which they demand, together with signs of his displeasure, "still impending over us and our neighbors, not only by the heathen," but from other sources, the last day of May is appointed for a Fast, "to humble our souls before the Lord for

1677.]

all our many provocations, and to implore" his "gracious presence to be with us, as he hath been with our fathers, inclining our hearts to observe his statutes and commandments, and to make us a reformed people by raining down righteousness and mercy upon us, and graciously appear to give a good issue to all affairs depending in England, respecting this country, and the best welfare of his Majesty, and of all the people of God, both in England and elsewhere."

25. Rev. Abraham Pierson, Sen., and John Bishop, preachers, of Stamford, write to Increase Mather, of Boston, and Thomas Shepard, of Charlestown. They state that they had recently conversed with Governor Andros, of New York, and that he expressed a wish to have several plantations in that Colony supplied with "honest and able ministers," and that he would encourage such in their profession.

June. James Rogers, and wife Elizabeth, and his sons James and Jonathan, are fined for working on the Sabbath. John Rogers confessed that he had been hard at work on this day, and that he would have done so, had his shop stood under the meeting-house window. The Court ordered him to be called before them once a month, and fined £5. Bathsheba Rogers was charged with placing a scandalous paper on the meeting-house.

September 15. As James Richards is bound for England, the Council empower him to use endeavors for obtaining from the King a confirmation to them of the Narragansett country, as comprised in their Charter, and principally conquered by Connecticut forces in the late war.

October 15. Thomas Denham, declared to be a fit candidate for the ministry at Rye, by the preachers of Fairfield and Stamford, is allowed £10, "in regard of his late loss by the war," as an encouragement to settle in the first of these three towns.

As Patrick Murrain had purposely absented himself from his wife Mary, for six years, and afforded nothing towards her support for this period, the Court release her from her conjugal tie to him, and grant her leave "to dispose herself in marriage as God shall grant her opportunity."

16. The Court grant that a house and land at New Haven, left to Noadiah Russell, be sold to pay the charges of his education at college, judging that this will be better for him, because he is "likely to prove a useful instrument in the work of God."

18. Gershom Bulkley, employed as both doctor and minister, has license to transport two hundred deer-skins, which were among articles of currency, to Boston, for the purchase of medicines.

It is enacted, "that no bill of divorcement shall be granted to any man or woman lawfully married, but in case of adultery, fraudulent contract, or willful desertion for three years, with total neglect of duty, or seven years' providential absence, being not heard of

after due inquiry made and certified, such party shall be counted as legally dead to the other party."

The Court say, that whereas the providence of God, in the late war, seems to testify against having families settled far apart, being exposed to destruction from an enemy, and also, to have their children degenerate to "heathenish ignorance," they order future settlements to be made "in such nearness together, that they be a help each to the other against surprise of any common enemy."

Considering the inadequate improvement made by the people of their late afflictions, and "the hour of temptation already begun in other parts of the world, to God's people, and the great hazard our dear native country and his Majesty's other dominions, especially the churches and people of God in them," are exposed to by "a formidable and prevailing power of the enemy,"—the Court appoint the 21st of November for a day of fasting and prayer.

They further "recommend it to all the churches and ministers throughout this Colony, as often as they can, to engage themselves, and stir up their people to the work of solemn humiliation and prayer, with turning to the Lord, in this our day of Jacob's trouble."

The peril of Protestant churches, here and abroad, so referred to, was the success of the Romish cause through the triumphs of the French arms, and the conduct of Charles II., whose policy was more in favor of them, than of his own English subjects.

The Court set apart the last of the current month for Thanksgiving.

November 23. Elder Hiscox and Mr. Hubbard, from Newport, hold worship, being the seventh day, at New London, with the members of their church, two miles out of town. The next morning, the wife of Joseph Rogers having given a "satisfying account of her experiences," John, her brother, urged that they should go up to town and baptize her there. Mr. Hubbard thought it not best, because the authorities advised to the contrary. But they did as Rogers wished. While Mr. Hiscox was preaching, the constable appeared, and ordered him and his hearers to answer before the magistrate. Mr. Bradstreet was at the trial, and spoke of the good way established by their fathers. Mr. Hubbard replied: "You are a young man, but I am an old planter of about forty years, a beginner of Connecticut, and have been persecuted for my conscience from this Colony, and I can assure you, that the old beginners were not for persecution, but we had liberty at first." Finally, the accused were released and retired to the house of Samuel Rogers. Here "John put himself forward, prayed, and then went out to the water and baptized his sister." As Mr. Hiscox was supposed to have performed this ceremony, he was apprehended for it, but Rogers confessed that he did the service, and the remainder were suffered to depart.

* He was of Milford, in 1669.

1678.]

From this time, John Rogers, so doing, began to act conspicuously and draw off from the Sabbatarians. He preached, baptized, gained a few disciples, formed a church, viewed as a new sect, designated as Rogerenes, or Rogerene Quakers, or sometimes Rogerene Baptists. He and his followers resolved to pursue a course which they knew was a disturbance of the public peace, and must bring on them the penalties of the law. They interrupted others in their worship, and denounced what they counted sacred. They were strong advocates for salvation by faith in Christ, for the Trinity, regeneration, resurrection of the just and unjust, and eternal judgment. They taught that it was right to obey civil government, except wherein opposed to conscience and religion; to pay town rates, but not those for ministers; to resist all civil power in divine worship. Like Sabbatarians, they held to immersion and rejection of the first day, as Sabbath, but differed from them in other points. They considered all days alike, though they met on the first day for worship; still they worked freely when such service was over, at any part of the day. They had no meeting-houses, looking on a pulpit, steeple and salaried minister with abomination. They denied swearing by oath, and made no prayers in public worship or in the family. They believed that prayer should be mental, not vocal, except on special occasions, when prompted by the Holy Spirit. They used no means to recover health, except care, kindness and attention. They viewed all application to drugs, medicines and physicians, as sinful. Part of their practices were very distasteful to the Seventh-day Baptists.*

1678. May 5. Rev. James Fitch writes† from Norwich to the Assembly respecting Uncas: "I shall add no more, but only that which is so commonly known not only to myself, but any who have opportunity with him in the company of Indians with him, so reproachfully to villify our rulers, our laws and religion, and is the great opponent of any means of souls' good and concernment to his people, and abounding more and more in dancings and all manner of heathenish impieties since the wars; and villifying what hath been done by the English, and attributing the victory to their Indian helps."

John and James Rogers are in prison.‡ They had excommunicated their brother Jonathan, "because he did not retain their judgment of the unlawfulness of not using medicines, nor accuse himself before authority for working on the first day of the week." In consequence of such information, the church of Newport sent brethren to New London. These messengers report that those of their denomination, in the latter place, would not pray in their

* Backus, vol. i. p. 474. Caulkins's New London, p. 201-21.

† Conn. Col. Rec.

‡ Backus, vol. i. p. 475.

families, morning and evening, nor ask a blessing and return thanks before and after meals, as Christians did generally, "except led forth upon some special occasion," because they find no command for such observances in the Bible.

May 15. The Assembly grant "Mr. Roger Williams, of Providence, a gratuity* for his courtesy to our army, etc., the sum of ten pounds, and desire Major Talcot to take care for the conveyance of the corn to Mr. Williams."

October 8. The church of Seventh-day Baptists at Newport, having sent a letter inclosing one from Dr. Peter Chamberlain, in England, to Governor William Leete, he replies to them from Hartford. "To be minded of any parts of the Scriptures of truth, is gratefully received, and were it not for a seducing devil, and a deceitful heart, they would be a rule of life unto all that have senses exercised therein, and make due application of them. We have of late had to deal with Rogers and his of New London, towards whom the authority have shown all due condescension imaginable to us; that if they would forbear to offend our consciences, we should indulge them in their persuasion, and give them no offense in the seventh day, in worshiping God by themselves. We may doubt (if they were governors in our stead) they would tell us, that their consciences would not suffer them to give us so much liberty; but that they must bear witness to the truth, and beat down idolatry, as the good old kings did in Scripture: they judging so of our Lord's day worship.† It may be that your counsel may be more taking with them, to make them forbear than ours."

November 21. In compliance with the wish of the Commissioners‡ for the union, for a general Fast, Connecticut observe such an occasion to humble themselves before the Lord and seek his face, for the deliverance of the country from the great peril of losing their charter liberties, through the misrepresentation of enemies and the hard pressure of the prejudiced King.

23. Joseph, son of Thomas Rowlandson, of Ipswich, H. C., 1652, dies, aged forty-seven. On the Essex Court files for 1651, there was a satirical piece of poetry, written by him, for which he was prosecuted, with an apology of his to the Court for publishing so offensive a composition. He went to Lancaster in 1654, and was ordained there, 1660. Having been appointed by the Legislature a chaplain of forces, under Major Savage, 1675, he declined. While he was at Boston, soliciting the Colonial authorities for some soldiers to protect his people against the enemy, they, on February 10, 1676, destroyed their town. What made the relation of this event more afflictive to him, was that the Indians had

* Conn. Gen. Ct. Rec. † Backus, vol. i. p. 477, 8. ‡ Trumbull, vol. i. p. 373.

1678.]

carried off his wife Mary, daughter of John White, and children, who, except an infant killed by them, after much suffering were released from their captivity. Then they resided temporarily at Charlestown and Boston. After the destruction of Lancaster they moved to Wethersfield, where he preached. Trumbull calls him the fourth minister of the latter town. He left a sermon printed at the end of an edition of his wife's removals. Though visited with severe trials, he wrought faithfully in his Master's service.

INDEX OF NAMES,

COMPRISING PERSONS, PEOPLE, VESSELS, AND PLACES.

When the several pages referring to the same names are denoted by tens or hundreds, these figures will be expressed but once, except when intervened by words.

- Aberdeen, 383.
Acudia, 74, 121, 299.
Acushenett, 316.
Adams, Robert, 199.
Adderley, William, 2.
Adrianople, 142.
Ahaton, William, 518, 75.
Ainsworth, Henry, 21, 418.
Albany, 347, 73.
Alcock, (John,) 420.
Alden, John, 167, 233.
Allen, Benjamin, 246, 313.
Capt., 451.
George, 72, 166, 235, 40, 2, 4, 5.
Hope, 444.
James, 297, 421, 32, 3, 7, 9, 46, 82, 95, 500, 86.
John, 235, 42.
Joseph, 240, 2, 4, 6.
Matthew, 235, 8, 40, 2, 4, 5, 6.
Ralph, 72, 3, 166, 70, 234, 5, 8, 40, 2, 4, 5, 77.
Ralph, Jr., 234, 5, 40.
Thomas, 3, 59, 60, 106, 207, 33, 72.
William, 72, 168, 234, 5, 6, 8, 40, 2, 4, 6.
Allin, Benjamin, 483.
Daniel, 483.
Ekeazer, 483.
John, 3, 5, 97, 113, 49, 60, 299, 304, 39, 40, 423, 81, 4.
Katharine, 483.
Allyn, John, 410, 68, 9.
Almy, Martha, 511.
Amanhunt, John, 488.
Amboyne, black hole, 94.
Ambrose, Alice, 320, 3, 45, 8, 62.
Joshua, 99.
Nehemiah, 99.
Ames, William, 341.
Ammapoo, 382.
Amsterdam church, 25.
Andover, 3, 103, 4, 305, 435.
Andover, Eng., 47, 413.
Andress, Rachel, 659.
Richard, 659.
Andros, Edmund, 512, 20, 35, 60, 7, 72, 80, 6, 8, 94, 609, 25, 49, 59, 65, 6, 70, 9.
Angel, John, 181.
Anglesey, Lord, 592.
Apollonius, William, 2.
Appledore, 323.
Appleton, John, 364, 75, 418.
Archdale, John, 389, 90, 1.
Archer, Henry, 178.
Arlington, Lord, 370, 401.
Armine, Lady, 109, 485.
Arnold, Benedict, 182, 396, 7.
Samuel, 315, 86, 7, 531, 639.
Stephen, 177.
Thomas, 93.
William, 21, 31, 79, 81, 5, 124, 77, 253.
Arrousick Island, 249.
Arther, John, 632.
Ashley, Thomas, 121.
Ashurst, Henry, 207, 21, 8, 32, 80, 6, 376, 445, 84, 5.
William, 283, 90.
Astwood, John, 266.
Atherton, Hope, 412, 3, 76, 7, 593.
Humphrey, 161, 98, 210, 84, 477.
Atkins, Thomas, 251.
Atkinson, Marmaduke, 631.
Mary, 631.
Atwater, Joshua, 432.
Austin, Anne, 142.
Avery, Elizabeth, 20.
Awawunks, 528.
Babcock, James, 659.
Bache, Samuel, 558.
Bachelior, Henry, 218, 77.
Bacon, Nathaniel, 207.
Badgerden, Eng., 415.
Bahama Islands, 7, 17, 9.
Baillie, or Bailey, Robert, 24.
Baker, John, 118.
Nathaniel, 643.
Nicholas, 246, 631, 41, 3.
Nicholas, children of, 643.
William, 165.
Baldwin, Mrs., 625.
Ball, John, 483.
Balstone, William, 29.
Baltimore, Lord, 40.
Banks, Lydia, 352.
Barefoot, Walter, 323.
Barker, Thomas, 270.
Barlow, George, 119, 239, 40, 2, 5.
Barnes, Jonathan, 386.
John, 241.
Barnstable, 23, 6, 73, 114, 5, 236, 41, 2, 7, 314, 5, 7, 82, 452, 3.
Barstow, George, 114.
William, 114.
Bartholomew, Henry, 21, 76.
Bartimeus, 498.
Bartlett, Mr., 297.
Robert, 243.
Barton, Rufus, 29.
Basset, Nathaniel, 73.
Bassett, Goody, 88.
Bass River, 415, 35.
Bastar, Roger, 397, 539.
Batchelor, Stephen, 3, 78.

INDEX OF NAMES,

COMPRISING PERSONS, PEOPLE, VESSELS, AND PLACES.

When the several pages referring to the same names are denoted by tens or hundreds, these figures will be expressed but once, except when intervened by words.

- | | | |
|----------------------------|-----------------------------|-----------------------------|
| Aberdeen, 383. | Ames, William, 341. | Atwater, Joshua, 432. |
| Acadia, 74, 121, 299. | Ammapoo, 382. | Austin, Anne, 142. |
| Acushenett, 316. | Amsterdam church, 25. | Avery, Elizabeth, 20. |
| Adams, Robert, 199. | Andover, 3, 103, 4, 305, | Awawunks, 528. |
| Adderley, William, 2. | 435. | |
| Adrianople, 142. | Andover, Eng., 47, 413. | Babcock, James, 659. |
| Ahaton, William, 518, 75. | Andress, Rachel, 659. | Bache, Samuel, 558. |
| Ainsworth, Henry, 21, | Richard, 659. | Bachelor, Henry, 218, 77. |
| 418. | Andros, Edmund, 512, | Bacon, Nathaniel, 207. |
| Albany, 347, 73. | 20, 35, 60, 7, 72, | Badgerden, Eng., 415. |
| Alcock, (John), 420. | 80, 6, 8, 94, 609, | Bahama Islands, 7, 17, 9. |
| Alden, John, 167, 233. | 25, 49, 59, 65, 6, | Bailie, or Bailey, Robert, |
| Allen, Benjamin, 246, 313. | 70, 9. | 24. |
| Capt., 451. | Angel, John, 181. | Baker, John, 118. |
| George, 72, 166, 235, | Anglesey, Lord, 592. | Nathaniel, 643. |
| 40, 2, 4, 5. | Apollonius, William, 2. | Nicholas, 246, 631, |
| Hope, 444. | Appledore, 323. | 11, 3. |
| James, 297, 421, 32, | Appleton, John, 364, 75, | Nicholas, children of, |
| 3, 7, 9, 46, 82, 95, | 418. | 643. |
| 500, 86. | Archdale, John, 389, 90, 1. | William, 165. |
| John, 235, 42. | Archer, Henry, 178. | Baldwin, Mrs., 625. |
| Joseph, 240, 2, 4, 6. | Arlington, Lord, 370, 401. | Ball, John, 483. |
| Matthew, 235, 8, 40, | Armine, Lady, 109, 485. | Balstone, William, 29. |
| 2, 4, 6, 6. | Arnold, Benedict, 182, | Baltimore, Lord, 40. |
| Ralph, 72, 3, 166, 70, | 396, 7. | Banks, Lydia, 352. |
| 234, 5, 8, 40, 2, 4, | Samuel, 315, 86, 7, | Barefoot, Walter, 323. |
| 5, 77. | 531, 639. | Barker, Thomas, 270. |
| Ralph, Jr., 234, 5, 40. | Stephen, 177. | Barlow, George, 119, 239, |
| Thomas, 3, 59, 60, | Thomas, 93. | 40, 2, 5. |
| 106, 207, 33, 72. | William, 21, 31, 79, | Barnes, Jonathan, 386. |
| William, 72, 168, 234, | 81, 5, 124, 77, 253. | John, 241. |
| 5, 6, 8, 40, 2, 4, 6. | Arrousick Island, 249. | Barnstable, 23, 6, 73, 114, |
| Allin, Benjamin, 483. | Arther, John, 632. | 5, 236, 41, 2, 7, |
| Daniel, 483. | Ashley, Thomas, 121. | 314, 5, 7, 82, 452, 3. |
| Eleazer, 483. | Ashurst, Henry, 207, 21, | Barstow, George, 114. |
| John, 3, 5, 97, 113, | 8, 32, 80, 6, 376, | William, 114. |
| 49, 60, 299, 304, | 445, 84, 5. | Bartholomew, Henry, 21, |
| 39, 40, 423, 31, 4. | William, 283, 90. | 76. |
| Katharine, 483. | Astwood, John, 266. | Barthelemy, 498. |
| Allyn, John, 410, 68, 9. | Atherton, Hope, 412, 3, | Bartlett, Mr., 297. |
| Almy, Martha, 511, | 76, 7, 593. | Robert, 243. |
| Amanhunt, John, 488. | Humphrey, 161, 98, | Barton, Rufus, 29. |
| Amboyne, black hole, 94. | 210, 84, 477. | Basset, Nathaniel, 73. |
| Ambrose, Alice, 320, 3, | Atkins, Thomas, 251. | Bassett, Goody, 88. |
| 45, 8, 62. | Atkinson, Marmaduke, | Bass River, 415, 35. |
| Joshua, 99. | 631. | Bastar, Roger, 397, 539. |
| Nehemiah, 99. | Mary, 631. | Batchelor, Stephen, 3, 78. |

- Bath, 249.
 Batter, Edmund, 375.
 Baxter, Benjamin and Josiah, (False,) 510.
 George, 329.
 Richard, 283, 308, 42, 7, 601.
 Baylies, Francis, 26.
 Bear, or Beer, Richard, 239, 41, 573.
 Beekom, Symon, 579.
 Belcher, Jeremy, 538.
 Mr., 671.
 Samuel, 538.
 Bulknap, Jeremy, 461.
 Belleau, Eng., 123.
 Bellflower, Benjamin, 218.
 Bellingham, Elizabeth, 501.
 Richard, 118, 205, 11, 55, 371, 4, 9, 418, 40, 501, 2, 49.
 Bennet, Gervase, 140.
 Berkley, Lord, 35.
 Bermuda, 17, 309.
 Berry, Richard, Sen., 452.
 Beverly, 420, 523.
 Bewett, Hugh, 87.
 Biddeford, 392.
 Eng., 160.
 Billing, Eng., 160.
 Billeria, 350, 486.
 Bingham, Col., 159.
 Bishop, George, 142.
 James, 408, 9, 671.
 John, 266, 679.
 Bishop of Chester, 188, 257.
 Blackleech, John, 152, 471.
 Blackleish, Solomon, 644.
 Blackman, Adam, 411, 73, 523.
 Benjamin, 523, 630, 1.
 Black Point, 119, 73, 247, 317, 21, 2, 90.
 Blackstone, William, 179, 402, 63, 631.
 Bland, Mrs., 283.
 Bleigh, Thomas, 360.
 Blevin, John, 373, 432, 2.
 Blinman, Richard, 3, 50, 1, 90, 162, 91, 3, 4, 263, 4, 5, 612, 25.
 Family of, 265.
 Block Island, 396, 464, 549.
 Blue Point, 173.
 Boies, or Boyes, Antipas, 318.
 Bond, Robert, 553.
 Thomas, 252.
 Bonighton, or Bonython, John, 119, 247, 321.
- Bonner, Mary, 174.
 Boomer, Matthew, 632.
 Booth, Thomas, 321.
 Boothe, Robert, 119.
 Bo—, Samuel, 315.
 Boston, 3, 4, 7, 11, 6, 7, 21, 3, 6, 7, 9, 41, 7, 8, 51, 65, 9, 74, 5, 9, 80, 3, 93, 6, 8, 9, 113, 5, 7, 31, 5, 6, 8, 40, 2, 3, 9, 59, 60, 2, 4, 6, 8, 73, 4, 8, 80, 1, 2, 4, 6, 91, 5, 7, 208, 9, 11, 2, 3, 5, 8, 9, 22, 4, 7, 32, 41, 52, 6, 8, 63, 4, 70, 1, 3, 6, 8, 80, 1, 4, 5, 7, 8, 91, 7, 301, 3, 7, 9, 12, 9, 22, 3, 5, 9, 43, 8, 50, 1, 5, 60, 2, 3, 9, 71, 2, 5, 6, 7, 8, 80, 3, 90, 3, 415, 7, 9, 21, 3, 7, 9, 31, 45, 6, 55, 62, 6, 70, 8, 80, 2, 8, 9, 91, 7, 502, 3, 5, 9, 11, 3, 4, 20, 3, 8, 38, 9, 70, 85, 601.
 Boston, Eng., 105, 291.
 Boulton, J., 73.
 Bourg, Gov. de, 459.
 Bourne, Mr., 73.
 Richard, 115, 62, 210, 46, 83, 308, 14, 48, 83, 7, 420, 50, 5, 98, 532.
 Bowen, Elizabeth, 610.
 Bower, George, 90.
 John, 90.
 Bowers, Benanuel, 309, 503, 11, 67, 601, 9, 16, 20.
 Elizabeth, 601, 9, 10, 20.
 Elizabeth, Sen. and Jr., 610.
 Boxford, 477.
 Boyle, Michael, 292, 3.
 Robert, 292, 307, 41, 9, 53, 4, 69, 405, 6, 45, 85, 506, 16, 80, 606, 18.
 Boys, Joanna, 186.
 Brackenbury, Samuel, 424, 39.
 William, 439.
 Brackett, John, 670.
 Peter, 441.
 Thomas, 199, 208.
 Bradbury, Catharine, 73.
 Thomas, 104, 617.
 Bradford, 477.
- Bradford, Alice, 169, 451.
 Dorothy, 169.
 Joseph, 169.
 William, 21, 4, 32, 73, 167, 9, 74, 213.
 Bradstreet, Dorothy, 252.
 Simon, 75, 7, 97, 100, 4, 29, 252, 72, 88, 90, 7, 8, 308, 67, 74, 5, 444, 74, 529, 49, 53, 60, 97, 610.
 Braintree, 3, 135, 60, 93, 424, 85, 99, 537, 74, 9.
 Branford, 129, 87, 267, 406, 10, 2, 68.
 Brattle, Thomas, 318, 75.
 Brea, Scot, 15.
 Bredan, or Bredan, Thos., 271, 99, 359, 60.
 Brend, William, 143, 6, 98, 9, 208, 33, 59.
 Brenton, William, 396, 7, 402, 61.
 Brewen, Obadiah, 553.
 Brewster, Elder, 530.
 Margaret, 657.
 — Rev., 404.
 Brez, Guy de, 433.
 Bridges, John, 205.
 Bridgewater, 8, 227, 383.
 Bridgen, Zeechariah, 267, 338.
 Brinley, 399.
 Briscoe, Nuthaniel, 65, 6.
 Brock, John, 174, 248, 9, 91, 323, 437.
 Sarah, 291.
 Brookfield, 311, 517, 576.
 Brokesup, or Brooksup, Joan, 277, 87, 8, 325.
 Brown, Edmund, 3, 262, 413, 35, 7, 49, 81, 609.
 Edward, (Edmund?) 305.
 James, 317, 634.
 John, 217, 24, 46, 532, 634.
 John, Capt., 389.
 Joseph, 624.
 Judah, 277.
 Robert, 25.
 Wm., 364, 492, 624.
 Brown, Mr., 174.
 Bryant, John, 451.
 Stephen, 451.
 Buckinghamshire, 65.
 Buckingham, Thomas, 267, 675.
 Buffum, Joseph, 199.
 Joshua, 199, 204, 6, 7, 311, 432, 511.

- Buffum, Robert, 199, 217,
 23, 439.
 Tamison, 301, 439.
 Bulkley, Edward, 206,
 336, 88, 9, 437.
 Elizabeth, 389.
 Gershom, 331, 2, 412,
 67, 70, 3, 87, 669,
 70, 1, 3, 7, 9.
 Grace, 206, 435, 7.
 Peter, 3, 17, 22, 138,
 49, 206, 43, 331,
 435.
 Bull, Capt., 667.
 Bullock, Richard, 387.
 Buncar, Mary, 511.
 Bunker, Benjamin, 411.
 George, 441.
 Judith, 441.
 Burden, Ann, 46.
 Sarah, 277.
 Burdick, Naomi, 659.
 Ruth, 402.
 Burge, Elizabeth, 314.
 Thomas, Jr., 314.
 Burgis, (Thomas), 170.
 Burnell, John, 218.
 William, 218.
 Burnet, Gilbert, 297.
 John, 540, 1.
 Burnyate, John, 543, 6.
 Thomas, 403.
 Burrough, Edward, 281,
 2.
 Burstow, John, 277.
 Burton, John, 195, 228,
 88.
 Bury, Eng., 139.
 Bushrod, John, 298.
 Bussaker, Peter, 34.
 Buss, Elizabeth, 617.
 John, 617.
 Butler, Daniel, 245.
 Dorothy, 244, 6.
 Henry, 42.
 Obadiab, 246.
 Thomas, 234, 42, 4, 5.
 Byfield, Nathaniel, 588.
 Calamy, Edmund, 13, 48,
 59, 99.
 Calawane, 352.
 Caleb, 519.
 Callender, John, 87.
 Callicot, Richard, 535.
 Cambridge, 3, 13, 5, 6, 9,
 33, 7, 51, 3, 62, 97,
 106, 14, 30, 43, 8,
 53, 210, 7, 24, 63,
 76, 7, 91, 309, 50,
 2, 7, 71, 80, 416,
 20, 3, 9, 51, 2, 82,
 6, 91, 509, 15, 7,
 9, 20, 3, 70, 5.
 Cambridge College, Eng.,
 13, 42, 105, 86.
 Cambridge Village, 346,
 430, 523.
 Canada, 71, 4, 5, 369, 73,
 5, 8, 412.
 Canonchet, 619, 72.
 Canootus, 611.
 Canterbury, Eng., 477.
 Cape Fear, 307, 417.
 Porpoise, 118, 247,
 390.
 Capen, John, 278, 92.
 Capuchin Friars, 27.
 Card, John, 402.
 Carehauge Indians, 193.
 Carey, James, 432.
 Carpenter, Alice, 169.
 William, 79, 177, 80,
 253, 462.
 Carr, Mr., 252.
 Sir Robert, 297, 342,
 3, 5, 52, 9, 60, 2,
 3, 4, 9, 77, 8, 9, 90,
 4, 400, 1, 14, 59.
 Carrill, or Caryl, Mr.,
 283, 307, 69, 434,
 552.
 Cartaret, Sir George, 553.
 Carter, Thomas, 3.
 Cartright, or Cartwright,
 George, 342, 3, 5,
 52, 5, 60, 92, 8, 9.
 John, 512, 3.
 Casco Bay, 119, 73, 247,
 317, 21, 91.
 Causacinnamon, Robin,
 666.
 Cawdrey, Daniel, 59, 160.
 Chabanakongkoman, or
 Chobone Konho-
 nom, 502, 18, 73, 7.
 Chalkley, Robert, 477.
 Chalmers, George, 394, 5.
 Chamberlain, Henry, Jr.,
 278.
 Henry, Sen., 278.
 John, 218, 72, 7, 8.
 Peter, 612, 57, 61,
 82.
 Champernoon, Francis,
 319, 22, 649.
 Chappequiddick, 448.
 Charles I., 2, 9, 150, 331,
 61, 5.
 Charles II., 9, 40, 99, 150,
 75, 205, 9, 217, 22,
 30, 2, 46, 56, 70,
 1, 3, 81, 2, 4, 7,
 96, 314, 27, 9, 31,
 2, 69, 72, 89, 98,
 411, 71, 509.
 Charles River, Fla., 307.
 Charles, (Ship,) 358, 9.
 Charlestown, 3, 4, 18, 38,
 53, 62, 71, 138, 42,
 98, 227, 63, 76, 80,
 301, 4, 9, 41, 5, 52,
 62, 8, 72, 415, 30,
 5, 77, 80, 9, 91,
 509, 13, 19, 41, 85.
 Charnizay, Mons., 74.
 Chase, William, 116.
 Chasmore, Richard, 178,
 80.
 Chatham, Catharine, 277,
 301.
 Chauncey, Catharine, 487.
 Charles, 47, 114, 5,
 7, 36, 47, 9, 210,
 46, 87, 91, 9, 300,
 17, 31, 40, 4, 452,
 83, 7, 8.
 Ichabod, 47.
 Isaac, 47.
 Israel, 409, 11, 67, 8,
 70, 1, 3, 669, 71, 2.
 Nathaniel, 412.
 Sarah, 331, 487.
 Cheberina, 602.
 Cheesbrooke, Wm., 87, 8.
 Cheever, Ezekiel, 35.
 Chelmsford, 140, 52, 350,
 499, 572, 5, 8, 9,
 90, 602, 5.
 Cheshire, Eng., 65, 509.
 Child, Dr., 4, 289.
 Chipman, John, 211.
 Christopherson, Wenlock,
 218, 45, 6, 72, 3,
 7, 343, 5, 8, 62.
 Church, Benjamin, 598,
 634, 8, 40.
 Clarendon, Edward Hyde,
 Earl of, 289, 90,
 343, 53, 4, 71, 98,
 403, 4.
 Clark, Henry, 73.
 John, 48, 60, 2, 3, 5,
 7, 72, 9, 80, 1, 3,
 7, 123, 7, 59, 76,
 9, 82, 253, 6, 325,
 7, 8, 95, 6, 7, 402,
 3, 24, 46, 62, 3, 5,
 97, 541, 2, 50, 88,
 652, 3.
 Joseph, 182, 659, 65.
 Mary and John, 161.
 Samuel, 17.
 Thomas, 347, 482, 9,
 535.
 Thurston, 73.
 Cleaves, George, 76, 119,
 72, 3, 219, 318, 19,
 21, 91.
 Clifton, Hope, 211, 6, 56.
 Cloyes, Thomas, 533.
 Coal, Josiah, 239.

- Cobbet, Thomas, 3, 9, 22,
 66, 7, 81, 5, 6, 105,
 13, 41, 9, 52, 3, 61,
 262, 79, 373, 420,
 3, 35, 6, 7, 43, 81,
 91, 5, 536, 86, 626.
 Cochanaquant, 461.
 Coddington, Anne, 256.
 William, 29, 30, 1,
 78, 81, 2, 3, 122, 6,
 7, 78, 80, 395, 9,
 502, 43, 9, 50, 610,
 57, 61, 4.
 Coe, John, 472.
 Coffin, Tristram, 482, 609.
 Coggeshall, John, 464.
 Joshua, 464.
 Colcort, Edward, 323.
 Cole, Eunice, 323.
 James, Sen., 452, 524.
 John, 309.
 Mary, 452.
 Cole, or Coale, Isaac, 304,
 497.
 Coleman, Ann, 288, 9,
 92, 312, 20, 3, 4.
 Goodwife, 241, 4.
 Sarah, 277, 309.
 Coles, Robert, 79.
 Collicut, Richard, 645.
 Collier, William, 530.
 Collins, Christopher,
 wife of, 57.
 Conanicut Island, 78.
 Concord, 3, 206, 43, 61,
 331, 50, 89, 435,
 585.
 Congleton, Eng., 65.
 Constantinople, 142.
 Converse, Edward, 304.
 Cook, John, 117, 241.
 Joseph, 575.
 Richard, 497.
 Cooper, Elizabeth, 455.
 Neighbor, 455.
 Copeland, John, 143, 61,
 2, 70, 200, 33, 6,
 9, 40.
 Copford, Hall, 131.
 Corbet, Abraham, 394.
 Corlett, Elijah, 210.
 Cornell, Rebecca, 549.
 Thomas, 549.
 Cornwall County, Me.,
 534.
 Corwin, Thomas, and wife,
 572.
 Cotton, John, 2, 3, 4, 6,
 10, 2, 7, 8, 9, 20,
 4, 44, 7, 52, 8, 60,
 1, 2, 4, 6, 7, 70, 1,
 4, 85, 7, 93, 6, 7,
 105, 6, 37, 60, 204,
 5, 24, 35, 52, 91,
 306, 22, 44, 420,
 36, 51, 2, 7, 98,
 532, 607, 12, 35, 9,
 43.
 Seaborn, 184, 252,
 443, 81, 626.
 William, 343.
 Couell, Nathaniel, 388.
 Coventry, Jonathan, 73.
 Coveny, Thomas, 273.
 Coweset, 86.
 Cowland, or Courland,
 Alice, 211, 6.
 Coxall, Joshua, 325.
 Crandal, John, 48, 60, 2,
 7, 79, 80, 5, 399.
 Cranston, John, 394, 544.
 Cromwell, Oliver, 22, 3,
 38, 46, 7, 52, 5, 6,
 66, 95, 101, 7, 8,
 12, 6, 20, 1, 4, 5,
 7, 30, 1, 2, 3, 40,
 3, 51, 2, 9, 71, 2,
 3, 5, 7, 8, 9, 81, 6,
 7, 92, 200, 5, 24,
 47, 54, 6, 73, 307,
 20, 80, 1.
 Richard, 204, 8, 48,
 54.
 Cross, Samuel, 673.
 Crossman, John, 57, 545.
 Crown, John, 280.
 William, 172, 331.
 Cudworth, James, 170,
 234, 9, 41, 3, 4, 6,
 387, 635, 41.
 Mary, 313, 25.
 Mrs., 241, 4.
 Cullick, John, 208.
 Culpepper, Lord, 35.
 Cummins, R., 321.
 Cunnigrave, Mr., 255.
 Curtis, John, 586.
 Curwin, George, 364.
 J., 228.
 Cushing, Nehemiah, 227.
 Cushman, Thomas, 246,
 7, 387, 8, 453.
 Cutt, John and Richard,
 537.
 D'Aillebout, 74.
 Dalton, Philemon, 323.
 Ruth, 322.
 Samuel, 322.
 Timothy, 3, 322.
 Damman, John, 387.
 Dand, John, 4.
 Dane, Francis, 435.
 Danforth, John, 522.
 Nicholas, 520.
 Samuel, 60, 262, 418,
 23, 43, 520, 2.
 Thomas, 210, 308,
 61, 4, 79, 91, 444,
 68, 98, 519, 28, 82,
 620.
 Daniel, Mrs., 519.
 William, 101.
 Danson, George, 568, 9,
 610.
 Darby, Eng., 99.
 Darcy, Thomas, (Earl of
 Rivers,) 687.
 Dartmouth, 455, 528, 9.
 Eng., 362.
 D'Aulney, 27, 28, 74, 117.
 Davenport, John, 24, 90,
 130, 3, 74, 84, 7, 8,
 257, 62, 3, 5, 6, 90,
 3, 7, 300, 29, 30, 3,
 8, 40, 64, 410, 21,
 7, 32, 3, 5, 7, 8,
 66, 9, 82, 3, 96,
 557.
 Jr., 432.
 David, Indian, 570.
 the Jew, 265.
 Davis, John, 390.
 Margaret, 65.
 Nicholas, 209, 11, 41,
 2, 314.
 William, 65, 152, 528.
 Davy, Humphrey, 535,
 645.
 Day, Mr., 252.
 Deacon, Mr., 444.
 Dean, Richard, 402, 3.
 Deane, John, 414.
 Thomas, 358, 60, 1,
 5, 75.
 Deble, Jeremiah, 568, 610.
 Dedham, 3, 5, 18, 29, 69,
 113, 35, 60, 5, 95,
 200, 45, 63, 81,
 309, 12, 23, 60, 63,
 439, 80, 90, 576.
 Dedham, Eng., 48, 69.
 Deerfield, 506, 71, 73.
 Deer Island, 574, 6, 7, 8,
 9, 86.
 Delaware Bay, 35, 71, 89,
 132, 3, 84, 347.
 Denham, Thomas, 670.
 Denison, Daniel, 22, 75,
 7, 118, 200, 319,
 64, 75, 549, 602,
 13.
 Denmark, 257.
 Denton, Richard, 338.
 Derby, 90, 411, 666.
 Derby, Eng., 140.
 Derby, Lucretia, 615.
 Roger, 615.
 De Ruyter, 366.
 De St. Mas, Mons., 74.
 Deuell, Wm., and wife, 27.
 Devonshire, 159.

- Dewin, Andrew, 603.
 John, 602.
 Dewsbury, William, 252.
 Dexter, Gregory, 86, 7,
 181, 463.
 Dillingham, Edward, 170.
 Henry, 244, 6.
 Dixwell, John, 571.
 Doggett, Thomas, 520.
 Dominicans, 66.
 Dorchester, 3, 18, 57, 92,
 134, 5, 53, 60, 4,
 264, 78, 87, 91, 2,
 311, 46, 50, 418,
 35, 44, 73, 83, 553,
 74.
 Dorchester, Eng., 42, 293.
 Doublet, Tom, 590.
 Dover, N. H., 3, 28, 9,
 117, 66, 74, 307, 9,
 20, 3, 4, 93, 4, 415,
 60, 1, 537.
 Dowdney, Richard, 165,
 200.
 Downam, John, 17.
 Drake, —, 519.
 Draughtwich, Eng., 166.
 Dreuilletes, Father, 74, 5.
 Drinker, Edward, 362, 8,
 46, 465.
 Drue, Hester, 511.
 Nathaniel, 511.
 Patience, 511.
 Drury, Hugh, 415.
 Dublin, 21, 135, 59, 603,
 77.
 Dudley, 502, 18, 68.
 Dorothy, 97.
 Joseph, 483, 508, 613.
 Katharine, 97.
 Mary, 306.
 Roger, 97.
 Samuel, 28, 175, 391.
 Thomas, 28, 61, 97,
 175, 306, 74, 483,
 92.
 Duke of Buckingham,
 220.
 of Monmouth, 535, 8,
 64, 645.
 of Savoy, 185.
 of York, 347, 82, 3,
 404, 8, 9, 59, 510,
 12, 34, 5, 60.
 Dummer, Richard, 228,
 478, 534.
 Shubal, 221, 320,
 531.
 Dunbar, Scotland, 47.
 Dunham, Thomas, 46.
 Dunker, Edward, 438.
 Dunkirk, Eng., 47.
 Dunsborn, Eng., 415.
 Dunstable, Eng., 477.
 Dunster, David, 240.
 Henry, 3, 10, 51, 104,
 6, 13, 35, 6, 53,
 61, 240.
 Jonathan, 240.
 Dunton, Samuel and wife,
 511.
 Dury, John, 228, 99, 344.
 Dutch, 4, 7, 83, 6, 93,
 102, 4, 7, 12, 3, 4,
 6, 9, 20, 4, 8, 9,
 30, 1, 58, 337, 46,
 7, 56, 66, 7, 9, 80,
 412, 508, 12, 20,
 34, 49, 57.
 Duxbury, 73, 168, 70,
 235, 41, 4, 6, 314,
 6, 7, 449, 51, 3.
 Dyer, Mary, 209, 14, 9,
 20, 2, 42, 54, 6,
 William, 122, 3, 6,
 11, 255, 9.
 Earl of Clarendon, 287,
 398.
 of Manchester, 280,
 330, 1.
 of Sterling, 389, 534.
 of Strafford, 9.
 of Warwick, 4, 332.
 Eastham, 26, 138, 260,
 529.
 East Hampton, 38, 308,
 48, 559.
 East India Company, 606.
 East Indies, 94.
 Easton, John, 181, 2, 464,
 603, 10, 49, 57.
 Nicholas, 21, 31, 2,
 402, 542.
 Eaton, Daniel, 133.
 Hannah, 258.
 Mary, 258.
 Samuel, 258.
 Theophilus, 34, 5,
 131, 84, 8, 9, 257, 8.
 Thomas, 502.
 Eccles, Samuel, 502.
 Eddy, Elizabeth, 72.
 Edgartown, 382, 447, 96.
 Edgecomb, Vic., 321.
 Edgton, Eng., 186, 460.
 Edinburgh, 9, 14, 41, 209.
 Edmands, Robert, 568.
 Edmunds, Robert, 610.
 Edmundson, Wm., 546.
 Edson, Samuel, 383.
 Susannah, 383.
 Eggleston, James, 571.
 Eldred, Robert, 388.
 Eleutheria, Bahama
 Islands, 7.
 Eling, Eng., 509.
 Eliot, Benjamin, 405.
 Eliot, Elizabeth, 430.
 Francis, 147, 62, 3.
 Jacob, 433.
 John, 7, 9, 10, 2, 3,
 15, 6, 21, 2, 33, 41,
 9, 50, 1, 70, 81,
 101, 3, 5, 9, 10, 1,
 33, 40, 6, 7, 53, 60,
 2, 4, 92, 209, 10,
 9, 25, 33, 49, 73,
 6, 8, 84, 308, 12,
 41, 6, 8, 69, 87,
 400, 20, 30, 6, 40,
 3, 5, 6, 7, 84, 5, 91,
 8, 508, 18, 20, 2, 8,
 52, 9, 60, 3, 7, 9,
 73, 6, 9, 80, 6, 92,
 601, 15, 8.
 John, Jr., 210, 308,
 46, 87, 420, 30,
 523, 4.
 Joseph, 405, 70.
 Elizabeth, Queen, 81, 97,
 506.
 Elizabethtown, 392.
 Elmes, Rodolphus, 246.
 Elwell, Henry, 455.
 Emerson, John, 309.
 Joseph, 118, 320, 89.
 Thomas, 309, 89.
 Emery, Anthony, 216.
 John, 303.
 Endeavor, (Ship,) 83.
 Endicott, John, 56, 7, 68,
 74, 8, 81, 7, 151, 9,
 82, 201, 5, 9, 11,
 22, 4, 56, 70, 3, 84,
 90, 319, 45, 54, 61,
 2, 72, 95, 481, 500,
 49, 612, 72.
 England, 2, 3, 4, 5, 7, 9,
 10, 2, 3, 9, 23, 4,
 8, 40, 1, 2, 5, 8,
 51, 4, 6, 7, 9, 60,
 5, 9, 70, 3, 82, 5,
 6, 93, 7, 9, 104, 6,
 8, 12, 3, 4, 7, 9, 93,
 6, 8, 204, 5, 7, 9,
 10, 3, 5, 7, 9, 23,
 4, 7, 8, 35, 45, 8,
 50, 3, 5, 6, 69, 70,
 2, 87, 8, 90, 7, 309,
 23, 9, 50, 62, 4, 74,
 6, 7, 8, 84, 95, 6,
 7, 9, 420, 1, 3, 30,
 92, 7, 501, 2, 10, 9,
 20, 41, 3.
 English, 7, 82, 93, 4, 114.
 Enno, James, 407.
 Essex County, 149.
 Essex County, Eng., 63,
 131.
 Europe, 132, 207.
 Evelyn, (John?) 478.

- Ewer, Thomas, 235, 8,
 40, 2, 5.
 Exoter, 3, 28, 175, 393, 4,
 461, 537.
 Eyre, Robert, 487.
 F——, Isaac, 511.
 Fairfax, Sir Thomas, 23.
 Fairfield, 88, 130, 473, 4,
 559, 60.
 Falmouth, 249, 50, 318, 9,
 21, 390, 1, 469, 533.
 Farlow, Caleb, 567, 620.
 Farmington, 90, 188, 201,
 66, 470.
 Farnum, or Farnham,
 John, 372, 423, 8,
 32, 62.
 Faubord, —, 204.
 Felch, Henry, 93.
 Felix, Indian, 567.
 Fenwick, Dorothy, 192.
 Elizabeth, 192.
 George, 124, 92, 3,
 329, 30.
 Katharine, 192.
 Lady Mary, 35, 192.
 Fiennes, Nathaniel, 210.
 Finsbury, 434.
 Firman, or Pyrmin, Giles,
 48, 9, 63, 196.
 Fisher, Mary, 142.
 Fisk, 435.
 Anne, 605.
 Elizabeth, 605.
 John, 605.
 Moses, 485, 99.
 Fitch, James, 262, 7, 470,
 98, 9, 551, 2, 4, 7,
 8, 60, 6, 70, 1, 4, 5,
 81.
 Fitrarandall, 454.
 Fletcher, Edward, 414, 5.
 John, 537.
 Mary, 415.
 Nathaniel, 318, 22.
 Pendleton, 392.
 Seth, 173, 250, 392.
 William, 392.
 Flint, Dorothy, 424.
 Henry, 3, 160, 315,
 424, 641.
 Josiah, 444, 95.
 Margery, 424.
 Fogg, David, 511.
 Mrs., 153.
 Folger, Peter, 147, 201,
 10, 588.
 Forbes, James, 159.
 Ford, Robert, 572.
 William, Sen., 316.
 Fordham, Elizabeth, 559.
 Jonah, 559.
 Robert, 559.
 Fort Albany, 378.
 James, 378, 482.
 Orange, 347.
 Fosdick, Stephen, 341.
 Foster, Hopestill, 486,
 567, 620.
 John, 485.
 Thomas, 485, 6, 567.
 Fourbush, William, 323.
 Fowle, Thomas, 4.
 Fowler, Robert, 199.
 Fox, George, 20, 2, 140,
 68, 204, 12, 97,
 540, 8, 657.
 Jabez, 460.
 Foxwell, Martha, 73.
 Framingham, Eng., 520.
 France, 97, 172, 411, 23,
 30.
 King of, 27.
 Francis, Sachem, 451.
 Franco, Solomon, 11.
 Franklin, Benjamin, 588.
 Fraser, James, 15.
 Freeman, Edmund, Sen.,
 and wife, 72.
 French, 71, 5, 86, 105, 12,
 9, 21, 32, 72, 369,
 73, 4, 8, 412, 61,
 534, 94, 600.
 Fretwell, Ralph, 610, 57.
 Frontinac, Earl, 619.
 Fryer, James, 602.
 Nathaniel, 649.
 Fuller, Matthew, 238.
 Samuel, 644.
 Gage, Thomas, 115.
 Gardner, George, 199, 217,
 23, 335, 98.
 Henry, 223, 50.
 Horred, 197, 253.
 John, 609.
 Joseph, 592.
 Richard, 199, 381.
 Thomas, 535, 645.
 Gardyner, G., 57, 88.
 Garland, George, 172.
 Garland, (Ship,) 509.
 Garlick, Joseph, 260.
 Garret, James, 164, 260.
 Gaskin, or Gascoyne,
 Samuel, 199, 205,
 17.
 Gates, Mary, 153.
 Stephen, 153.
 Gaunt, Peter, 72, 166,
 234, 40, 6.
 Gendall, Walter, 616.
 George, John, 362, 8, 71.
 Gerrish, Joseph, 510, 86,
 626.
 William, 104, 375.
 Gibbins, G., 321.
 Gibbons, Edward, 11, 40.
 Gibbons, or Gibbens,
 Sarah, 143, 96, 200.
 Gifford, or Gifford, Wm.,
 235, 8, 40, 4, 6.
 Gifford, 271.
 Gilbert, Claudius, 153.
 Matthew, 332.
 Sarah, 230.
 Thomas, 280, 372,
 499, 509.
 William, 582.
 Gildersome, Eng., 460.
 Gillam, Ann, 152.
 Benjamin, 269, 92.
 Gloucester, 3, 62, 309, 11.
 Gloucester, Eng., 159.
 Glover, Elizabeth, 240.
 Habakkuk, 375, 650,
 2.
 Jose, 240.
 Pelatiah, 413.
 Godfrey, Edward, 75, 7,
 119, 248, 50, 1, 71,
 8.
 Goffe, William, 224, 32,
 66, 71, 2, 9, 80,
 302, 29, 30, 2, 58,
 80, 554, 71.
 Gog, 205.
 Gold, Daniel, 211.
 Goldsmith, Ralph, 284.
 Goodall, Mary, 362.
 Richard, 362.
 Goodin, Mehitable, 514.
 Goodwin, Christopher,
 304.
 Thomas, 2, 18, 297,
 307, 434, 8.
 William, 208.
 Goodwine, Adam, 28.
 Goodyear, Stephen, 90.
 Gookin, Daniel, 50, 140,
 51, 61, 2, 210, 84,
 99, 308, 20, 42, 73,
 80, 430, 40, 7, 85,
 98, 502, 17, 8, 9, 32,
 51, 4, 60, 70, 3, 4,
 6, 8, 87, 92, 7, 601,
 18, 20, 33.
 Gorgcann, or York, 27,
 77.
 Gorges, Ferdinando, 27,
 75, 6, 120, 251, 319,
 20, 1, 53, 89, 90,
 1, 534.
 Goring, Lord, 64.
 Gorton, Samuel, 17, 27,
 9, 83, 5, 7, 123, 4,
 77, 81, 253, 5, 89,
 397, 9, 461, 3, 658,
 9, 60.
 Family of, 658.
 Gortonists, 82, 289.

- Gosport, 323.
 Gott, Charles, 103.
 Gould, Daniel, 211, 6.
 Hannah, 514.
 John, 415.
 Major, 473.
 Mary, 514.
 Samuel, 514.
 Thomas, 138, 51, 3,
 98, 341, 62, 6, 7,
 8, 71, 2, 6, 423, 8,
 9, 32, 3, 8, 46, 62,
 86, 513.
 Zaccheus, 216, 20.
 Gourden, Robert, 372.
 Grafton, 485, 501.
 Graham, 204.
 Grand Vizier, 142.
 Graves, Thomas, 347, 566,
 601.
 Gravesend, Eng., 219.
 Gray, Edward, 451.
 John, 524.
 Robert, 439.
 Samuel, 524.
 Great Torrington, Eng.,
 159.
 Green, Henry, 3, 7.
 John, 138, 395, 7,
 465, 543, 9, 660.
 Samuel, 198, 225, 67,
 83, 451, 525.
 Mr., Jr., 395.
 Greene, John, Sen., 253.
 Greenfield, Thomas, 235,
 8, 40.
 Greenhall, Greenhill, or
 Greenill, William,
 59, 307, 503.
 Greenwich, 186, 333, 410.
 Groton, 306, 590.
 Groton, Eng., 10.
 Grub, Thomas, 432.
 Guernsey, Eng., 159.
 Guilford, 38, 90, 218, 66,
 333, 7, 405, 6, 10,
 2.
 Guppy, John, 113.
 Gutch, Robert, 249.
 Hackburn, Katharine, 97,
 483.
 Samuel, 97, 483.
 Hackney, Eng., 205.
 Hackwell, Eng., 205.
 Hadlock, Nathaniel, 432.
 Hale, John, 415, 20, 1,
 35, 7, 43, 95, 626.
 Robert and Rebekah,
 421.
 Halifax, Eng., 338, 429.
 Hall, Dorcas, 104.
 John, 104, 462.
 Rebecca, 300.
 Hallett, John, 314.
 Josiah, 115.
 Halloway, Timothy, 316.
 Halsey, William, 221.
 Ham, Mary, 207.
 Hamilton, Duchess, 404, 0.
 Duke, 64, 404, 9.
 Marquis, 404.
 Hamlet, or Hamlit, Wil-
 liam, 496, 507, 10.
 Hammond, William, 318.
 Hampton, 3, 28, 78, 103,
 4, 22, 74, 216, 51,
 2, 309, 23, 4, 93,
 536.
 Hanford, Thomas, 90, 337.
 Harding, George, 12.
 Harman, Sir John, 506.
 Harnden, Robert, 502.
 Harnet, Edward, 195, 9.
 Harper, Deborah, 233.
 Robert, 24, 6, 33, 5,
 8, 40, 2, 4, 6, 272,
 382, 455.
 Harriman, John, 675.
 Harris, Andrew, 182.
 Thomas, 197, 253.
 William, 170, 82, 403,
 61, 2, 3, 541, 2,
 641.
 Harrison, Dorothy, 7.
 John, 125.
 Thomas, 7.
 Hart, 546.
 Hartford, 38, 131, 2, 48,
 52, 85, 8, 9, 92,
 208, 9, 59, 65, 6,
 329, 33, 5, 404, 6,
 10, 1, 3, 9, 29, 66,
 72, 3, 4, 98.
 Hartly, William, 81.
 Harvard. See College, in
 Index of Subjects.
 Harvey, Ann, 492.
 Harwood, Jane, 292.
 John, 311, 503.
 Haselrig, Sir Arthur, 124.
 Hassanamesitt, (Graf-
 ton,) 485, 502, 8, 17,
 8, 9, 68, 73, 7, 84, 6.
 Hastings, 410.
 Hatfield, 413, 5.
 Hatherly, Timothy, 239.
 Hathorn, or Hawthorne,
 William, 21, 75, 7,
 100, 218, 24, 45,
 319, 20, 4, 59, 71,
 4, 9, 436, 549.
 Hattenanit, Job, 586.
 Haugh, or Hough, Ather-
 ton, 291.
 Samuel, Sen., and
 Jr., 291.
 Sarah, 291.
 Haverhill, 3, 103, 4, 43,
 63, 429, 35, 60.
 Hawkins, James, 79, 177.
 Jane, 31, 79, 177.
 Job, 79,
 Joseph, 666.
 Will, 576.
 Haynes, Hezekiah, 131.
 John, 130, 86.
 John, Children of,
 131.
 John, Jr., 131, 86.
 Joseph, 131, 467, 73,
 558.
 Samuel, 536, 7.
 Hayward, Nathaniel, 514.
 Hazell, John, 27.
 Heard, John, 216.
 Heathcot, George, 502.
 Hedge, Abraham, 386.
 William, 524.
 Hodges, Trustrum, 388.
 Hen, Bishop, 564.
 Hempstead, L. I., 115,
 338, 559.
 Henchman, Thomas, 572,
 3, 8, 9.
 Herle, Charles, 381, 436.
 Hiacombs, 13, 20, 56, 147,
 447, 8, 519.
 Hibbins, Ann, 140.
 Hicks, Deborah, 246.
 Horod, 398.
 John, 398.
 Lydia, 246.
 Samuel, 633.
 Hiferney, William, 314.
 Higginson, John, 51, 201,
 17, 8, 224, 8, 33,
 80, 303, 4, 6, 40,
 420, 3, 32, 3, 5, 7,
 8, 43, 60, 81, 90, 5,
 508, 10, 11, 16, 20,
 2, 63, 5, 77, 610,
 19, 26.
 Hildersham, Arthur, 97.
 Hill, Charles, 474.
 John, 199.
 Judge, 207, 21.
 R., 321.
 Hills, Joseph, 21.
 Hilton, Catharine, 538.
 Edward, 537.
 William, 537.
 Hinckley, Thomas, 240,
 7, 641.
 Hinckman, William, 453.
 Hingham, 3, 60, 246, 523.
 Hiscocx, William, 397, 424,
 62, 97, 539, 88, 659,
 61, 5, 80.
 Hispaniola, 166.
 Hitchen, John, 301.
 Hitchcock, R., 321.

- Hitchcock, Widow, 172.
 Hoar, John, 580, 5.
 John, Family of, 580.
 Leonard, 424, 87, 90,
 6, 9, 509, 13, 6, 20,
 63, 5, 79.
 Margery, 424.
 Hobart, Jeremiah, 499,
 585.
 Nehemiah, 523.
 Peter, 3, 160, 443,
 523.
 Hobson, Henry, 325.
 Hodgden, Nicholas, 216.
 Hodges, Humphrey, 569,
 610.
 Hodson, William, 212.
 Hoggan, Robert, 200.
 Hoken, Indian, 532.
 Holden, or Houlden,
 Randal, 30, 1, 394,
 7, 462, 660.
 Holder, Christopher, 143,
 61, 2, 70, 81, 200,
 11, 5, 33, 6, 54, 6.
 Holgrave, Mrs., 62.
 Holland, 5, 7, 8, 47, 61,
 93, 4, 105, 7, 12,
 4, 6, 32, 364, 423,
 33, 92, 510.
 Josiah G., 43.
 Mr., 127.
 Hollanders, 68.
 Holloway, John, 511.
 Holliman, Mr., 395.
 Hollister, Lt., 262, 3, 5.
 Holmes, John, 317, 87,
 451, 635.
 Obadiah, 25, 7, 48,
 60, 2, 3, 72, 3, 9,
 80, 1, 5, 159, 82,
 317, 539.
 William, 226.
 Holmes' Hole, 382.
 Holyoke, Edward, 21,
 205.
 Elizur, 65.
 John, 422, 3.
 Mary, 65.
 Homonequem, (Convert,) 57.
 Hooke, Francis, 322.
 Jane, 625.
 Mrs., 266.
 William, 48, 130, 87,
 8, 207, 21, 487.
 Hooker, Ellis, 273.
 Samuel, 671.
 Thomas, 14, 5, 49,
 58, 9, 131, 84, 8,
 94, 411, 37, 67.
 Thomas, Family of,
 131.
 Hoopon, Lord, 35.
- Hooton, Elizabeth, 277,
 8, 4, 87, 8, 301, 9,
 25, 62.
 Hopkins, Ann, 188.
 Edward, 34, 124, 32,
 9, 88, 9, 257, 66.
 Hopkinton, 189, 618.
 Horsmunden, Eng., 99.
 Houchin, Robert, 170, 1.
 House of Standish, 168.
 Howard, William, 432.
 Howe, John, 159.
 Howell, Morgan, 118.
 Howgill, Francis,
 Thomas, 211.
 Howland, Arthur, 171,
 234, 5, 41, 4.
 Arthur, Jr., 449.
 Elizabeth, 529.
 Henry, 234, 40, 1, 3,
 6.
 John, 453, 529.
 John, Jr., 171.
 Samuel, 316.
 Zoeth, 171, 234, 41, 4.
 Hubbard, Jeremiah, 443.
 Samuel, 397, 402, 24,
 62, 85, 6, 507, 10,
 39, 88, 650, 3, 5,
 65, 80.
 Tacy, 539.
 William, 7, 137, 41,
 443, 81, 95, 588,
 650, 3, 5, 65, 80.
 Hudson River, 500.
 William, 367.
 Huitt, Hannah, 474.
 Thomas, 474.
 Hull, Goody, 73.
 John, 142, 228, 54, 5,
 64, 354, 6, 430, 41,
 666.
 Humphrey, Michael, 407.
 Hunt, Edward, 26.
 Lt., 450.
 Hunter, John, 567.
 Huntington, L. I., 114,
 332.
 Hussey, John, 393.
 Rebecca, 393.
 Stephen, 511.
 Hutchinson, Ann, 64,
 222, 477, 611.
 Edward, 205, 69, 432,
 568.
 Richard, 12, 283.
 Samuel, 415.
 Thomas, 12, 4, 23,
 38, 146, 51.
 Ince, Jonathan, 78, 163.
 Independents, 74.
 Indians, 4, 5, 7, 8, 10, 2,
 3, 8, 9, 20, 3, 31,
 3, 4, 6, 8, 9, 50, 1,
 7, 69, 70, 2, 3, 83,
 90, 100, 5, 10, 1, 5,
 21, 8, 9, 31, 3, 40,
 6, 7, 51, 3, 61, 4,
 7, 76, 7, 84, 6, 7,
 93, 4, 201, 9, 10, 9,
 24, 5, 31, 2, 49, 51,
 60, 5, 7, 73, 8, 83,
 98, 307, 8, 11, 4, 5,
 25, 6, 8, 32, 3, 41,
 2, 7, 8, 80, 3, 6,
 92, 411, 22, 65, 6,
 501, 24, 6, 8, 32,
 3, 9, 41, 9, 50, 1,
 2, 4, 6, 7, 69, 99,
 604, 45, 7.
 Indians at College, 101, 10,
 47, 250, 98, 308, 48.
 Indian Catechism, 101.
 College, 133, 198,
 519.
 Ipswich, 3, 7, 15, 48, 63,
 92, 6, 104, 36, 41,
 3, 52, 64, 97, 200,
 4, 6, 21, 63, 76, 7,
 80, 309, 23, 4, 64,
 75, 6, 8, 89, 418,
 20, 2, 35, 78, 523,
 36, 8, 607, 18.
 Ireland, 7, 23, 45, 55, 6,
 104, 35, 53, 9, 205,
 10, 89, 495, 603,
 77.
 Irish Boy, (shot,) 570.
 Isle of Shoals, 28, 77,
 249, 323, 87, 90,
 638.
 Isle of Wight, 2.
 Italy, 165.
 Jackson, Edward, 350.
 Richard, 350.
 Jacob, Henry, 163.
 Jamaica, L. I., 470, 5.
 Jamaica, W. I., 140, 51,
 66, 86, 252, 72,
 502.
 James II., 47.
 Indian Teacher, 201,
 517.
 See Duke of York,
 389, 91.
 Thomas, 38, 267, 308,
 48, 77, 668.
 Japhet, (Indian,) 448.
 Japheth, (Indian,) 551.
 Jenkins, Edward, 631.
 John, 235, 8, 40, 2, 6.
 Jessy, Henry, 163.
 Jethro, (Indian,) 517, 76.
 Jews, 10, 2, 6, 205, 23.
 Job, (Indian,) 147, 308,
 518.

- Joel, (Indian,) 519.
 John, Sagamore, 140.
 Johnson, Edward, 7, 11,
 23, 58, 9, 78, 88,
 489, 91.
 Edward, Family of,
 489.
 Humphrey, 530.
 John, 2, 486, 567.
 Marmaduke, 219, 308,
 70, 433, 51, 98.
 Mary, 34.
 Matthew, 486.
 Thomas, 235.
 Jollie, Thomas, 607.
 Jones, John, 261, 337.
 Margaret, 4, 16.
 Ralph, 170.
 Jordan, Robert, 28, 119,
 21, 73, 247, 9, 50,
 1, 318, 9, 20, 2, 92.
 Joscelyn, Henry, 119, 73,
 4, 319, 22, 93, 457,
 8, 9.
 John, 352, 90, 459.
 Joseph, (Indian,) 502, 18,
 9.
 Juxon, William, Abp., 9.
 Kattenanit, Job, 577, 8.
 Keayne, Robert, 98.
 Keith, James, 383, 639.
 James, Family of,
 383, 4.
 Kellond, Thomas, 363.
 Kemp, Elizabeth, 235.
 Kempis, Thomas a, 438.
 Kempthorne, Simon, 142.
 Kendall, Francis, 486.
 Kenilworth, 468, 71.
 Kennebeck, 27, 115, 21,
 74, 249, 50, 390,
 459.
 Patent, 315, 8, 9.
 Kennebecks, 75, 249.
 Kent Co., Eng., 42.
 Kent, Joseph, 396.
 Kerbey, Richard, 72, 3,
 168, 240, 6, 77.
 Richard, Jr., 235, 8,
 42, 4, 5, 6.
 Sarah, 168.
 Kiffren, or Kiffen, Wil-
 liam, 73, 362.
 Killingworth, 413.
 King of Spain, 279.
 King, William, 211, 6, 8,
 77.
 Kingsley, John, 674.
 Stephen, 21.
 Kirby, Eng., 99.
 Kitchen, Elizabeth, 223,
 8, 362, 439.
 John, 217, 362.
 Kittery, 28, 77, 117, 8,
 247, 311, 9, 20, 2,
 3, 90, 3, 4, 459,
 538.
 Knapp, 88.
 Knight, Ezekiel, 318, 90.
 William, 3.
 Knott, Widow, 72.
 Knower, George, 165.
 Knowles, John, 3, 7, 22,
 3, 207, 513, 609.
 Lake, Thomas, 93, 645.
 Lambert, 408.
 John, 209, 24.
 Robert, 362.
 Lamphere, George, 659.
 Lancashire, 99, 139, 59.
 Lancaster, 153, 435, 512,
 17, 70, 585, 90.
 James, 502, 42, 3.
 Lane, Mr., 459.
 Langworthy, Rachel, 397,
 539.
 Lathrop, John, 477.
 La Tour, 28, 117, 72.
 Laud, William, Abp., 120,
 365, 490.
 Launder, or Lander, Jane,
 168.
 William, 168.
 Layton, Thomas, 634.
 Leader, Richard, 43.
 Lechford, Thomas, 3.
 Lechlade, Eng., 530.
 Leddra, William, 198, 9,
 212, 18, 42, 3, 72, 3.
 Leet, Abigail, 471.
 William, 329, 30, 2,
 7, 601, 82.
 Leffingwell, Thomas, 671.
 Legat, John, 28.
 Leland, Henry, 574.
 Lenard, Solomon, 227.
 Leonard, Phillip, 453.
 Leverett, John, 76, 7, 101,
 5, 6, 31, 8, 9, 51,
 9, 71, 2, 81, 2, 204,
 25, 7, 8, 32, 73, 80,
 6, 90, 311, 28, 64,
 7, 91, 3, 410, 4, 8,
 44, 56, 7, 8, 66, 7,
 82, 90, 4, 512, 3, 5,
 6, 28, 35, 6, 8, 63, 5,
 92, 6, 9, 609, 19,
 33, 44, 74.
 Leveridge, or Leverich,
 Caleb and Eleazer,
 114.
 William, 50, 1, 72,
 114, 5, 38, 62, 93,
 248.
 Leyden, 24, 166, 8, 243,
 532.
 Leyton, John, 632.
 Liddal, John, 312, 24.
 Lilburn, John, 252.
 Limerick, Ire., 153.
 Lincoln, Bishop, 289.
 Lincolnshire, 105.
 Ling, Mr., 245.
 Linnell, David, 73.
 Lisbon, 2.
 Lisle, Lord, 580.
 Little, Mr., 227.
 Littlefield, Edward, 318.
 Littleton, 518.
 Locke, Robert, 143, 5, 9.
 Loc, John, 529.
 London, 2, 3, 4, 8, 10, 3,
 20, 1, 3, 9, 39, 41,
 7, 51, 4, 8, 62, 3,
 5, 6, 73, 8, 84, 9,
 96, 105, 6, 20, 1,
 3, 30, 1, 8, 41, 3,
 52, 3, 61, 5, 77, 82,
 7, 8, 94, 200, 4, 5,
 8, 10, 7, 9, 22, 3, 4,
 8, 9, 45, 50, 1, 3,
 7, 80, 5, 9, 97, 301,
 11, 7, 29, 31, 5, 44,
 52, 62, 7, 9, 70, 5,
 6, 81, 96, 7, 415, 8,
 34, 60, 82, 90, 6,
 510, 2, 3, 5, 6, 35,
 7, 8, 87.
 Long, Horod, 398.
 Long Island, 88, 100, 14,
 43, 86, 99, 247, 67,
 332, 7, 62, 82, 404,
 6, 542, 92.
 Lord, Robert, 283.
 Lothrop, John, 115.
 Family of, 115.
 Louis, King of France,
 27.
 Loups, Indians, 534.
 Lovelace, Francis, 459,
 64, 82, 524, 34.
 Loveranne, Theodore, 372.
 Low Countries, 97, 105,
 66, 8.
 Ludlow, Roger, 36.
 Luker, Mark, 655.
 Lumbert, Benjamin, 452.
 Jedediah, 452.
 Lumkin, William, 449.
 Lusher, Eleazer, 196, 320,
 8, 91, 491.
 Lygonia, 391. See Index
 of Subjects.
 Lynde, Simon, 516.
 Lynde, or Lane, Thomas,
 43, 60.
 Lyne, John, 579.
 Lynn, 3, 9, 23, 43, 6, 8,
 53, 62, 9, 79, 80,
 1, 152, 205, 25,

- 303, 23, 43, 5, 435,
44, 522, 3.
Lynn, Eng., 177.
Maanexit, 518.
Maaz, William, 382.
Machin, John, 65.
Mackworth, Jane, 250.
Mc Sparran, Dr., 462.
Macy, Thomas, 216.
Madockawanda, or Ma-
dockawando, 602,
47.
Magunkaquog, 518, 68,
77, 8.
Magus, John, 586.
Maine. See Government
of, under Subjects.
Majascoe, 467.
Maker, James, 452.
Malden, 42, 3, 53, 60, 9,
126, 292, 309, 45.
Malins, Mary, 277.
Malory, Mr., 14.
Mamachegin, Joshua, 448.
Manchage, or Manchauge,
518, 68, 73.
Manchester, 3, 46.
Manhatoes, or Manha-
does, 116, 346, 7,
406, 624.
Mann, James, 27.
Mannamoiett, 387, 635.
Manomet, or Monument,
239, 40, 635.
Mantackett, 193.
Maquas, or Mohawks,
604.
Marbery, Mr., 205.
Marblehead, 3, 12, 273,
363, 422, 30.
March, Hugh, 626.
Marlborough, 164, *226,
515, 7, 8, 70, 86,
90, 4.
Marshall, Edmund, 46.
John, 235.
Thomas, 444.
Marshfield, 73, 171, 241,
2, 4, 43, 313, 82,
6, 455, 529.
Marston, William, 175,
252.
Martha's Vineyard, 7, 13,
20, 39, 51, 6, 7,
161, 2, 4, 70, 201,
10, 572, 604, 39.
Maryland, 40, 542.
Martyn, Richard, 537.
Mascall, Robert, 434.
Mashippaug, or Marsh-
pee, 387, 455.
Mason, Anne, 552.
Arthur, 363, 481.
Mason, Hugh, 613.
John, 89, 465, 553.
John, Sons of, 553.
Joseph, 78.
Mary, 302.
Robert, 534.
Robert T., 29, 252,
78.
Samuel, 557.
Masonia, 460.
Masquamicut, 399.
Massachusetts. See Gov-
ernment of, under
Subjects.
Masterson, Nathaniel,
271, 456.
Mather, Catharine, 436.
Cotton, 13, 59, 105,
12, 37, 88, 264, 42,
4, 65.
Elcazer, 198, 208, 91,
3, 7, 405, 36, 9, 86.
Increase, 112, 39, 59,
60, 287, 9, 91, 3,
8, 300, 41, 69, 73,
83, 92, 418, 33, 6,
7, 78, 83, 4, 6, 91,
509, 14, 5, 20, 4,
65, 71, 86, 603, 7,
12, 5, 20, 5, 9, 43,
50, 79.
Joseph, 436.
Nathaniel, 21, 159,
436, 96, 677.
Richard, 2, 3, 6, 12,
38, 45, 9, 70, 88,
92, 117, 36, 9, 49,
60, 233, 5, 79, 84,
99, 312, 41, 6, 81,
412, 35, 6, 9, 78,
83.
Richard, Family of,
436.
Samuel, 3, 21, 159,
436.
Sarah, 436.
Timothy, 436.
Mathews, John, 524
Marmaduke, 3, 18, 42,
3, 53, 4, 60, 2, 9,
136.
Samuel, 524.
Matoonas, 596.
Maud, Daniel, 3, 174.
Mary, 174.
Maule, Thomas, 437.
Maverick, Samuel, 228,
71, 343, 5, 6, 52, 3,
9, 60, 3, 4, 73, 8, 9,
93.
May, Dorothy, 169.
Maycomber, Wm., 532.
Mayhew, Experience, 165.
John, 308, 420, 53.
Mayhew, Matthew, 283,
98, 308, 420, 99,
520.
Mrs., 3, 308, 48, 420.
Thomas, Jr., 13, 20,
39, 41, 50, 1, 6, 69,
161, 3, 9, 40, 6, 7,
61, 4, 5, 96, 200,
10, 9, 308, 499.
Thomas, Jr., Family
of, 200.
Thomas, Sen., 162,
200, 1, 10, 6, 25,
344, 8, 420.
Mayo, John, 26, 138, 61,
291, 300, 418.
Samuel, 73, 115.
Mead, Matthew, 503.
Medfield, or Meadfield,
160, 350.
Mendon, 389, 515, 74.
Merrimaek River, 9, 42,
120.
Merry Meeting, 121.
Mesceh, 205.
Mevis, (Somer Islands),
261.
Michelson, Edward,
Michimore, James, 459.
Middleborough, 8, 452.
Middlesex, 149, 51.
Middletown, Conn., 265,
7, 8, 335, 470.
Miles, or Myles, John,
317, 86, 7, 448, 9,
530, 66, 621.
Joseph, 218.
Sarah, 610.
Milford, 133, 86, 266, 330,
406, 10, 2, 71, 532.
Millard, Jane, 312, 24.
Miller, John, 71, 306, 15.
Joseph, 602.
Mchitable, 306.
Susannah, 306.
Millet, Mary, 311.
Thomas, 311, 20.
Milton, 574, 601.
John, 126.
Misquamuck, or Misqua-
macuck, 354, 463.
Mistick, or Mystick, 193,
411.
Mitchel, Jonathan, 14, 9,
149, 262, 79, 80,
99, 304, 12, 5, 24,
41, 7, 73, 6, 412, 3,
5, 23, 9.
Mohawks, 71, 5, 300, 402,
518, 604, 13, 6, 7,
70, 7.
Momquason, 147.
Monhegans, 38, 552, 4, 6,
675.

- Monk, George, 14, 132,
59, 209, 17.
Monument, see Manomet.
Moody, Joshua, 251, 515,
36, 7, 63, 5.
Samuel, 563.
Sir Henry, 271.
William, 251.
Moore, Thomas, 273.
Moqua, John, 518.
Morefield, 434.
Morgan, Sarah, 533.
Mormons, 85.
Morris, or Morrice, Wil-
liam, Sec'y, 353,
70, 1, 5, 6, 27, 97,
115, 7, 66, 8, 71, 4,
377, 8, 9, 86.
Morton, Nathaniel, 27, 97,
115, 7, 66, 8, 71, 4,
246, 316, 52, 83, 7,
418, 31, 50, 1.
William, 315.
Mosely, Samuel, 570, 3.
Moses, 218.
John, 407.
Moshier, John, 459.
Mossup, (Indian,) 461.
Motin, Jane, 74.
Moulder, Christian, 511.
Nicholas, 511.
Mount Hope, 566, 8, 86.
Mountjoy, George, 533,
615.
Mouthe, Mr., 498, 554.
Moxes, or Myoxes, (In-
dian,) 164, 447.
Moxon, George, 43, 65.
Martha, 43.
Rebeckah, 43.
Mugg, 602.
Muggleton, Lodowick,
108, 494, 548.
Mumancquem, 56.
Mumford, Mary, 539.
Stephen, 397, 539.
Thomas, 397.
William, 511.
Munjoy, George, 391.
Munkatesett, 116.
Munster, 213.
Murray, Mary divorced
from Patrick, 679.
Muscongus River, 172.
Mynor, or Minor, John,
132, 3.
Thomas, 132, 3.
Naamhok, 572.
Nahant, 429.
Nahaton, Wm. (Ind.) 586.
Nahorth, Samuel, 378.
Namaskett, 452.
Nansemonnd, Va., 7.
Nantasket, 269.
Nantucket, 216, 348, 57,
81, 482, 98, 508,
10, 7, 9, 20, 67, 72,
88, 609.
Narragansett Country,
659, 60, 78.
Narragansetts, 57, 83, 6,
114, 28, 33, 255,
354, 7, 429, 65, 74,
543, 59, 81, 92,
601.
Nashaway, 8, 18, 111, 517.
Nashobah, 518, 70, 85.
Nason, Richard, 216.
Natick, 21, 42, 50, 6, 7,
69, 105, 99, 420,
45, 84, 508, 17, 9,
70, 4.
Naylor, James, 163.
Naylour, Edward, 500.
Neal, Daniel, 15, 26, 97.
William, 569, 610.
Neander, 317.
Needham, Anthony, 196,
9, 217, 22.
Nenecunant, (Ind.) 128.
Neponset, 518.
New Amsterdam, 35, 89,
200, 347.
Newark, 186, 412, 71, 5,
553.
Newbury, 3, 58, 99, 103,
4, 65, 96, 8, 9, 221,
4, 50, 80, 93, 303,
5, 23, 4, 52, 75, 6,
8, 412, 8, 36, 77,
80, 7, 90, 2, 500,
1, 3, 22.
Newbury, Benjamin, 673.
New Cambridge, 404.
New Castle, 324.
Newcomb, Mr., 435.
Neweacke, 184.
Newell, Mary, 362.
New England, 2, 3, 4, 6,
9, 12, 3, 5, 7, 9,
20, 2, 4, 6, 38, 41,
8, 52, 4, 5, 61, 2,
4, 6, 7, 84, 8, 93,
4, 6, 108, 19, 21,
36, 7, 9, 46, 51, 3,
60, 2, 6, 80, 6, 8,
90, 2, 204, 5, 8, 12,
20, 1, 2, 5, 8, 9,
32, 7, 9, 52, 6, 64,
6, 70, 4, 9, 88, 303,
4, 16, 31, 5, 54, 7,
9, 81, 409, 13, 5, 7,
24, 6, 31, 3, 43, 68,
78, 81, 95, 501, 2,
4, 6, 13, 4, 6, 7, 9,
20, 9.
Newfoundland, 265, 366.
New Hampshire. See
Government of,
under Subjects.
New Haven, 386, 410,
2, 21, 37, 8, 9.
See Government of,
under Subjects.
Town, 34, 47, 89, 90,
130, 1, 89.
Newhouse, Thomas, 312.
Newichawaneck, 320.
New Jersey, 247, 392, 412.
Newland, John, 168, 70,
234, 40, 2, 4, 5, 6.
Rose, 72.
William, 234, 40, 2, 6.
New London, 28, 90, 265,
7, 331, 2, 409, 12.
Newman, 552.
Antipas, 316, 81, 420,
95, 500.
Hopetill, 316.
Joanna, 641.
Mrs., 317.
Noah, 316, 415, 51,
526, d. 641.
Robert, 33.
Samuel, 25, 6, 162,
70, 316, 451, 641.
Samuel, Children of,
316.
New Netherland, 89, 171,
307. See Govern-
ment of, under
Subjects.
Newport, R. I., 27, 9, 48,
80, 3, 6, 7, 122, 6,
7, 78, 80, 1, 97,
213, 63, 317, 25, 94,
7, 8, 9, 402, 24, 46,
62, 3, 5, 85, 96,
507, 10, 39, 40, 1,
3, 6, 659, 65.
New Shoreham, 549.
Newton, L. I., 114.
Newton, Roger, 90, 133,
201, 66, 671.
New York, 31, 347, 52,
70, 3, 8, 83, 91, 4,
482, 508, 10, 2, 20,
4, 32, 72, 665.
Nicarson, Nicholas, 450.
William, 387, 8.
Nicholet, Charles, 490,
510, 1, 20, 2, 3, 63,
5, 6, 87.
Mrs., 490.
Nichols, J., 541.
Randall, 432.
Richard, 342, 3, 5,
53, 5, 9, 60, 1, 4,
6, 70, 3, 7, 8, 9, 83,
8, 91, 3, 6, 456, 8,
61, 3.

- Nicholson, Christopher, 273, 363.
 Edmund, 223, 73, 363.
 Elizabeth, 273, 363.
 Jane, 218, 20, 7, 362.
 Joseph, 218, 20, 7, 73, 312, 24, 63.
 Ninicraft, (Indian,) 461.
 Ninigret, (Indian,) 464.
 Nipmuck, 14, 422, 84, 518.
 Noble, Samuel, 585.
 Noddle's Island, 372, 446, 65, 97, 540.
 Nohnoso, John, (Ind.) 448.
 Nonantum, 316.
 Norcross, Nathaniel, 3.
 Norfolk County, 28, 367.
 Norkett, William, 453.
 Norman, Thomas, 523.
 William, 76.
 Norris, Edward, 3, 44, 94, 148, 9.
 Northampton, 198, 208, 91, 3, 352, 566.
 Northampton, Eng., 97.
 Northfield, 573.
 North Hampton, 323, 405.
 Norton, Col., 13.
 Humphrey, 170, 99, 235, 6, 58, 9, 421.
 John, 2, 3, 6, 15, 21, 8, 44, 6, 54, 64, 5, 6, 7, 8, 71, 96, 112, 3, 7, 36, 40, 9, 52, 92, 6, 9, 204, 7, 9, 12, 6, 7, 24, 33, 62, 74, 9, 80, 1, 7, 91, 7, 300, 2, 7, 44.
 Mary, 302.
 Nortowen, Mrs., 138.
 Norwalk, or Norwaake, 90.
 Norwich, Ct., 267, 553, 4, 665.
 Norwich, Eng., 207.
 Norwottuck, 208.
 Nova Scotia, 28, 74, 105, 6, 12, 21, 72, 299, 374, 5, 456, 9, 80.
 Nowell, Increase, 111.
 Samuel, 587, 624.
 Noyes, James, 3, 20, 99, d. 150, 96, 224, 338, 607, 69.
 James, Family of, 150.
 Nicholas, 104, 669.
 Numacke, Nanquit, 454.
 Numphow, 518, 79.
 Nunpang, 447.
 Nye, Phillip, 2, 352, 434, 87.
 Oakes, Cornet, 575.
 Edward, 13, 350.
 Urian, 13, 490, 1, 6, 504, 7, 9, 65.
 Obed-Edom, 13.
 Okomonakamesit, (Marlborough,) 518.
 Old England. See England.
 Old Town Creek, 232.
 Oleron, Charles of, (Ship) 358.
 Oliver, James, 212, 432, 570.
 Thomas, 602.
 Olney, Thomas, 87, 253.
 Onomog, (Indian,) 518.
 Onondagoes, 140.
 Ordway, Aaron, 116.
 Oresby, Thomas, 205.
 Origen, 256.
 Osawan, (Indian,) 550.
 Osborn, Mrs., (wife of) Thomas,) 310, 66.
 Sarah, 309.
 Thomas, 310, 41, 62, 5, 6, 8, 76, 423, 62, 507, 67.
 William, 309.
 Oxenbridge, John, 440, 3, 6, 79, 80, 2, 94, 500, 8, 33, 65.
 Oxford, (Manchage,) 518.
 Oxford College, Eng., 13, 297.
 Eng., 99.
 Oxfordshire, Eng., 257.
 Ousamequin, Wassamegin, or Matchippa, (Indian,) 273, 8.
 Owanecoe, (Indian,) 551.
 Owen, John, 48, 160, 96, 307, 11, 44, 67, 73, 434, 87, 601.
 Oyster Bay, 114, 5, 362.
 Paboddy, or Peabody, William, 314.
 Pacquellant, (Ind.) 352.
 Page, Isaac, 199.
 Robert, 429.
 Paine, John, 634.
 William, 36.
 Pakachoog, 517, 9.
 Pakemitt, 518, 75.
 Palairret, 172.
 Palmer, —, 435.
 Geoffrey, 252.
 Josiah, 529.
 John, 455.
 Samuel, 48.
 Palmes, Edward, 671.
 Palmore, Abraham, 19.
 Park, Edmund, 512.
 Parker, Capt., 587.
 Dr., 510.
 Son of Rev. Robert, 606.
 Thomas, 3, 20, 99, 150, 65, 224, 93, 305, 35, 6, 441, 7, 80, 90, 2, 500, 606, 7.
 William, 241, 4, 6.
 William, wife of, 241.
 Parks, William, 2.
 Parris, Samuel, 490.
 Parsons, Hugh, 43.
 Hugh, wife Mary, 43.
 Joseph, 566.
 Mary, 566.
 Partridge, Alexander, 29, 30, 1.
 Ralph, 6, 23, d. 235, 317, 437, 635.
 Ralph, Family of, 235.
 Pasaconaway, 9, 518.
 Pattison, George, 543.
 Patucket Falls, Mer. R., 9, 42, 140, 447.
 Paugutuck, 411.
 Paule, William, 170, 234.
 Paumperang, 559.
 Pawcatuck, 327, 474.
 Pawtuxet, Patuxet, or Patuxit, 27, 32, 79.
 Payne, John, 500.
 Pearson, or Peirson, Peter. See Pierson.
 Peasley, Joseph, 215.
 Pecatuck, 88, 192, 3.
 Peck, Henry, 34.
 Jeremiah, 266.
 Joseph, 34.
 Peguatucke, or Pawkatuck, 193, 4, 351.
 Peirce, Capt., 367, 73, 5.
 John, 486.
 Robert, 486, 97.
 Pelham, Herbert, 12, 207, 90.
 Pemaquid, 389, 534.
 Pemberton, Sarah, 443.
 Pembroke, 227.
 Pendleton, Eng., 607.
 Bryan, 77, 118, 392, 615.
 James, 537.
 Mary, 392.
 Penguinhole, 454.
 Penn, James, 17, 9, 435, 7, 9, 82.
 Pennicooks, 573.
 Penobscot, 28, 74, 117, 459, 602.
 Penobscots, 74, 172.
 Pentagoet, 27.

- Pepin, James, Jr., (French Protestant,) 281.
- Pequet, or Pequot, 88, 90, 178, 92, 3, 325.
See Pequods.
- Pequods, 83, 125, 32, 3, 84, 91, 267, 326, 8, 54, 5, 405, 11, 66, 98, 554, 675.
- Perada, Imanuel, 11.
- Perkins, William, 311.
- Perrott, Mr., 118.
- Perrott, 201.
- Perry, Edward, 116, 235, 8, 40, 2, 4, 5, 640.
Seth, 590.
- Pessicus, (Indian,) 400.
- Peters, Deliverance, 106.
Hugh, 3, 15, 6, 41, 59, 103, 6, 12, 222, 4, 610, 2.
- Pettaquamscott, Pattaquamscott, or Petecombscot, 255, 355, 98, 462.
- Phelps, Hannah, 211, 6.
Nicholas, 198, 9, 204, 6, 7, 11, 73, 80.
- Philip, Sachem, 315, 85, 9, 413, 50, 64, 519, 24, 8, 9, 39, 52, 65, 6, 70, 1, 5, 84, 91, 3, shot 597, 8, 602, 34, 8, 65, 70.
- Phillips, Bridget, 569, 610.
George, 206.
Henry, Dea., 489.
John, 171.
Samuel, 435, 7, 43, 78, 81, 7, 95, 586, 626.
William, 8, 18.
William, Major, 320.
- Phippen, Joseph, 322.
- Phips, Solomon, 432.
- Piambow, (Indian,) 518.
- Pierson, Abraham, 50, 1, 129, 33, 47, 62, 84, 6, 7, 94, 201, 9, 10, 60, 3, 6, 7, 98, 308, 48, 420, 66, 75, 553, 679.
Abraham, Jr., 471, 553.
Peter, 212, 42, 3, 77, 313, 412.
- Pike, Richard, 457.
Robert, 99, 103, 4, 11, 64.
- Pinguin Hole, 247.
- Pinion, Robert, 449.
- Pipponcott, Richard, 46.
- Piscataquay, 77, 211, 23, 52, 346, 67, 91.
- Pittimce, Andrew, (Indian,) 586, 97.
- Pitkins, William, 407.
- Plymouth Colony. See Government of, under Subjects.
- Town, 71, 90, 166, 8, 74, 225, 7, 35, 9, 41, 2, 6, 51, 71, 317, 52, 84, 8, 450, 3, 91, 8, 508, 39, 41.
- Poagmett, (Indian,) 550.
- Pochasset, 383.
- Pokanoket, 524.
- Pollard, Sir Hugh, 159.
- Polly, George, 620.
- Pondunk Indians, 192.
- Poole, Elizabeth, 116, 557.
- Pope, Gertrude, 439.
Joseph, 199.
Thomas, 242, 455.
- Porter, Daniel, 552.
John, 255, 397, 8.
John, Jr., 355, 7, 60, 5, 97.
Margaret, 398.
- Port Royal, 74, 106, 21.
- Portsmouth, R. I., 30, 83, 6, 122, 6, 7, 78, 346, 90, 463, 602.
See Strawberry Bank, 251, 2, 324, 64, 93, 4, 460, 536, 7.
- Potock, (Indian,) 597.
- Poucomptock, 506.
- Pouning, Henry, 221.
- Powell, Michael, 69, 70, 99, 108, 9, 38, 161, 503.
- Pray, Mary, 549.
Richard, 549.
- Prentice, Henry, 570.
- Prescott, John, 18.
- Preston, George, 320, 3, 43.
- Prince, Elizabeth, 449.
Mary, 143, 5, 6.
Thomas, 116, 21, 74, 235, 6, 8, 50, 315, 82, 7, 452, 524, 9, d. 530, 9.
Thomas, Family of, 530.
- Prine, or Prinn, 255.
- Prior, Joseph, 73.
- Providence, 26, 9, 33, 79, 80, 2, 3, 6, 7, 122, 7, 75, 8, 80, 209, 11, 53, 5, 327, 461, 5, 543, 6.
- Prudden, John, 186, 474, 5.
Peter, 88, d. 186, 9, 471.
- Prudden, Peter, Family of, 186.
Samuel, 186.
- Pulling Point, 218.
- Pumham, or Pomham, (Indian,) 31, 2, 369, 400, 1, 591.
- Pummakummin, (Sachem,) 57.
- Puncapoag, or Punguapog, 153, 64, 98, 518, 70, 4, 92.
- Puncan, (Indian,) 549.
- Punnuppaqua, 147.
- Purchase, Oliver, 360.
Thomas, 121, 319.
- Pynehon, Anna, 65.
John, 65, 165, 290, 347, 569, 604.
William, 20, 1, 43, 5, 54, 60, 5, 8, 9, 105, 205, 87, 91.
- Quabacooke, 278.
- Quabagud, Quaboag, or Quabog, 16, 417, 517, 86.
- Quannapohit, James, (Indian,) 586.
- Quannassohutt, Thomas, (Indian,) 567.
- Quantissett, 519.
- Quatisicker, 422.
- Quebec, 140.
- Quincy, Edmund, 537.
Judith, 537.
- Qunnubbagge, 57.
- Rainsford, Edw'd, 433, 44.
- Rance, John, 246, 502.
- Randall, William, Sen., 453, 5.
- Randolph, Edward, 596, 8, 600, 37, 48.
- Rauce, John, 611.
- Ravins, Christianus, 10.
- Rawlings, James, 216.
- Rawson, Edward, 51, 99, 118, 33, 281, 341, 79.
Edward, Jr., 99.
- Reading, 3, 6, 53, 62, 218, 49, 91, 323, 50, 89, 415, 86, 511.
- Reap, William, 313.
- Rednap, Joseph, 46.
- Reeve, Robert, 407.
- Reeves, John, 108, 494, 548.
- Rechoboth, 25, 6, 7, 80, 7, 116, 67, 70, 245, 316, 7, 86, 8, 460, 1, 526, 66.
- Remor, Mr., 563.

- Reyner, John, 29, 117, 66,
 74, 86, 323, d. 460.
 John, Family of, 460.
 John, Jr., 460, d. 537.
 Reynolds, Dr., 283.
 Rhode Island. See Gov-
 ernment of, under
 Subjects.
 Rhodes, Zechariah, 177,
 80, 368.
 Richards, James, 679.
 John, 515.
 Richardson, James, 575, 8.
 John, 603, 22, 63, 7,
 626.
 Richmond's Island, 247.
 Richworth, Edward, 117.
 Ridgewell, Eng., 49.
 Ridlye, Robert, 19.
 Rigby, Alexander, d. 28.
 Edward, 76, 172.
 Rishworth, Edward, 390.
 Rising, Gov., 171.
 Roberts, Edward, 135.
 Robin, and his Company,
 124.
 Robinhood, 249.
 Robinson, Isaac, 241, 3.
 John, 2, 24, 166, 243,
 4, 596.
 William, 208, 11, 2,
 3, 6, 52, 4.
 Rochelle, Fr., 281, 99.
 Rochellers, 378.
 Rochester, 71.
 Rogers, Ezekiel, 3, 28,
 105, 49, 228, d. 269,
 70, 306, 418.
 Ezekiel, Family of,
 270.
 James, 550, 7, 659.
 James, John and
 James, Sons of,
 551, 659.
 John, 171, 620, 1, 73.
 John, Sons of, 171.
 Mr., of Dedham,
 Eng., 48.
 Nathaniel, 3, 28, 64,
 92, 136.
 Nathaniel, Children
 of, 137.
 Simon, 497.
 Rouse, John, 199, 200,
 35, 6.
 Lieut. Col., 199.
 Rowland, Joseph, 473.
 Rowlandson, Joseph, 153,
 435, 43, 584, 682.
 Mary, 584, 5, 603, 82.
 Rowley, 3, 14, 64, 143,
 270, 80, 306, 23, 4,
 424, 9, 35, 9, 77, 8,
 87, 99, 523, 36.
- Roxbury or Rocksbury,
 2, 3, 13, 8, 97, 105,
 9, 60, 93, 210, 27,
 76, 81, 306, 23, 50,
 62, 3, 405, 18, 20,
 30, 80, 91, 520, 86.
 Ruddock, John, 571.
 Rushworth, 601.
 Rusk, Mr., 516.
 Russell, Daniel, 625, 9,
 30.
 George, 73.
 John, 191, 261, 5, 6,
 446, 86, 96, 567,
 620, 1, 73.
 John, Jr., 567.
 Noadiah, 679.
 Richard, 367.
 Rutherford, Samuel, 122,
 437.
 Rye, 90, 410, 72, 4, 552, 9.
 Sabine, William, 245.
 Sackville, Dr., 405.
 Saco, 118, 9, 72, 3, 247,
 317, 8, 21, 2, 90, 2.
 Saconesett, 316.
 Saconett, 528, 631.
 Saconoco, (Indian,) 31, 2.
 Sagadahock, 391.
 Sagatea. See Eleutheria.
 Salem, 3, 25, 33, 41, 96,
 103, 59, 95, 9, 204,
 6, 8, 11, 8, 22, 8, 45,
 9, 72, 3, 6, 8, 82, 7,
 301, 6, 12, 8, 23, 4,
 43, 5, 52, 75, 6, 8,
 81, 415, 8, 20, 2, 3,
 5, 8, 44, 60, 89, 90,
 509, 20, 2, 3, 39,
 68, 76, 7, 87.
 Village, 501.
 Sam, (Sagamore,) 591.
 Salisbury, 3, 99, 103, 4,
 43, 63, 4, 75, 215,
 6, 21, 323, 4, 477.
 Old Town and New
 Town, 215.
 Salmon, Samuel, 223.
 Thomas, 2, 9.
 Salter, Prison-keeper, 287.
 Saltonstall, Richard, 60,
 2, 3, 85, 207, 21, 8,
 32, 80, 90, 612.
 Sampson, (Indian Teach-
 er,) 519.
 Mr., 267.
 Samuel, (Indian Teacher,)
 518.
 Sanders, E., 321.
 Sands, James, 396.
 Sandwich, 72, 114, 5, 63,
 70, 211, 34, 5, 6, 8,
 9, 40, 2, 4, 7, 72,
- 83, 308, 13, 4, 6,
 82, 7, 420, 50, 5,
 98.
 Sanford, John, 182, 461.
 Sasoment, (Indian,) 517.
 Saunders, Edward, 136.
 Henry, 170, 238.
 Tobias, 325, 43.
 Sausanan, John, (Ind.,)
 563, 6, 632, 3, 4.
 Savage, Thomas, 375, 568,
 86, 613.
 Say and Brook, Lords,
 192, 330, 409.
 Say and Seal, Lord, 210,
 25, 80, 6, 329, 30.
 Saybrook, 6, 11, 35, 129,
 93, 217, 470, 1, 553,
 667, 8.
 Sayle, William, 19.
 Scarborough, 250, 318, 21,
 91, 524.
 Scituate, 114, 5, 7, 225,
 34, 41, 5, 6, 314,
 87, 455, 529, 30,
 631.
 Scone, Scotland, 40.
 Scotland, 14, 52, 104, 205,
 10, 383, 434, 516.
 Scots, 7, 9, 40, 7, 52, 5.
 Scott, Catharine, 205, 53,
 6.
 Christopher, 205.
 John, 382, 404, 610.
 Mary, 211, 6, 56.
 Patience, 209, 54, 6.
 Richard, 128, 256.
 Thomas, 15, 569.
 Scottow, Joshua, 281,
 359, 601.
 Scyll, Capt. Joseph, 585.
 Seabury, Samuel, 449.
 Seaconk, or Seekonk, 16.
 Seagar, Elizabeth, 335.
 Richard, 334.
 Sealey, Capt., 651.
 Searle, Mr., 427.
 Sedgwick, Robert, 104,
 5, 6, 12, 6, 31, 171.
 Scipican, (Rochester), 71.
 Sempsted, John, 511.
 Senecas, 670.
 Serjant, Peter, 515.
 Ruth, 530.
 William, 530.
 Sewall, 210.
 Samuel, 22.
 Seymour, Sir Edward, 42.
 Shadbrook, 323.
 Shalford, Eng., 48, 63,
 196.
 Shapley, Abihail, 514.
 Shapleigh, Nicholas, 311,
 9, 20, 2, 538, 649.

- Shapleigh, Richard, 75, 647.
 Shattuck, Josiah, 273.
 Samuel, 162, 96, 9, 204, 6, 7, 17, 23, 73, 82, 4, 311, 432.
 Sarah, 381.
 William, 195.
 Shawanon, (Sachem,) 9, 111.
 Shawomet, 21, 7, 32. See Warwick.
 Shelly, Hannah, 73.
 Shelter Island, 206.
 Shepard, Margaret, 14, 429.
 Samuel, 14, 424.
 Thomas, 2, 3, 12, d. 14, 5, 429, 81, 3, 90, 521, 679.
 Thomas, Family of, 14.
 Thomas, Jr., 14, 233, 309, 423, 4, 35, 7, 52, 509, 606, 20, 9.
 Shepherd, Jeremiah, 617.
 Sheppard, George, 327.
 Sherburn, 588.
 Sherman, John, 78, 552. (John?), 149, 410, 3, 35, 7, 43, 81, 91, 5, 587.
 Ship Tavern, 363.
 Shippe, Sheppey or Shippen, Edward, 568, 610.
 Shirley, James, 12.
 Shove, George, 316, 86, 524.
 Hopestill, 386.
 Shrewsbury, Eng., 188.
 Shrimpton, Henry, 372.
 Silvester, Giles, 273.
 Simpson, Frances, 217.
 Sidrack, 2.
 Six Nations, 75.
 Skelborn, Samuel, 271.
 Skiffe, James, 239, 41.
 Skinner, Hannah, 514.
 Slocum, Giles, Sen., 550.
 Giles, Wife and Children, 550.
 Small, Francis, 321.
 John, 195, 6, 217, 23, 8, 362.
 Smith, Anna, 65.
 Edward and Wife, 27.
 Bnsign, 450.
 George, 28.
 Henry, 33, 54, 65, 88.
 Henry, Family of, 33.
 James, 217, 23.
 John, 31, 116, 99, 217, 22, 4, 33, 41, 3, 7, 77, 315, 94, 640.
 John, Jr., 241, 3, 6.
 Margaret, 211, 6, 22, 6, 33, 77, 301.
 Marmaduke, 472.
 Matthew, 486, 97.
 of Manchester, 3.
 Ralph, 3, 271.
 Richard, 143, 4, 86, 255, 462, 568, 650.
 Thomas, Capt., 599.
 Society for N. E. Missions, 297.
 Solman, John and Wife, 397.
 Somersetshire, Eng., 42.
 Somes, John, 511, 68, 610.
 Sosaman, (Indian Teacher,) 147. See Sasaman.
 Soule, George, 241.
 John, 241, 4, 6.
 Nathaniel, 451, 524.
 Southampton, 559.
 Southertown, 325, 8, 411.
 South Hampton, 144, 86, 332.
 Southold, L. I., 258, 333, 556, 9.
 South Wales, 69.
 Southward, Alice, 169.
 Southwark, Eng., 163.
 Southwick, Cassandra, 159, 95, 6, 9, 204, 6, 8.
 Daniel, 199, 206, 17, 23, 73.
 John, 196, 9, 217, 8, 23.
 Josiah, 195, 6, 9, 204, 6, 81, 373, 422, 32, 596.
 Lawrence, 159, 95, 6, 9, 204, 6.
 Provided, 199, 206, 16, 7, 8.
 Southworth, Constant, 314.
 Thomas, 315, 87.
 Spaniards, 5, 178.
 Spanish Colonies, 312.
 Spear, James, 519.
 Speedwell, (Ship,) 143.
 Spencer, Thomas, 216.
 Spene, or Speen, Abraham, 570.
 James, 577, 86.
 Thomas, 597.
 Spilsbery, or Spilsbury, John, 9, 73.
 Spoonant, James, 570.
 Spooner, Thomas, 218.
 Spori, 326.
 Springfield, 6, 11, 20, 43, 54, 65, 102, 5, 65, 94, 205, 423, 587.
 Spurr, John, 46.
 Spurwink, 119, 319, 22.
 Squakeake, 500.
 Squamacuck, 469, 74.
 Squando, (Indian,) 647.
 St. Christopher's Island, 372, 418.
 St. Cloud, 121.
 St. Croix, 389.
 St. George, (River,) 172. (Ship,) 288.
 St. Germain, 121.
 St. John, Nephew of Bulkley, 18.
 St. John's, 132.
 St. Lawrence, 27.
 St. Mary, 40.
 St. Mas, 74.
 St. Paul, 87.
 Stallion, Edward, 557.
 Stamford, 36, 130, 266, 333, 8, 406.
 Standish, Miles, 167, 8, 553.
 Sons of, 168.
 Stanley, Martha, 218.
 Stanton, John, 133, 47, 62, 298, 308, 671.
 Robert, 398.
 Thomas, 37, 101, 9, 33, 47, 87.
 Staples, William R., 327.
 Starbuck, Edward, 28.
 Star Island, 323.
 Starr, Thomas, 386.
 Staunton, Mary, 197, 253.
 Stead, Rev. —, 362.
 Steadman, John, 407.
 Steele, Wm., 19, 20, 41, 50, 6, 7, 102, 33, 5.
 Stephenson, Andrew, 489.
 John, 631.
 Marmaduke, 208, 13, 6, 52, 4, 6.
 Sarah, 631.
 Stileman, Elias, 537.
 Stiles, Ezra, 181.
 Stoddard, Solomon, 439.
 Stone, Elizabeth, 335, 6.
 Gregory, 350.
 Robert, 228.
 Samuel, 38, 133, 91, 259, 64, 7, 335, 6, 673, 7.
 Stonington, 267, 98, 338.
 Stony Stratford, Eng, 257.
 Stoughton, 110.
 Stoughton, William, 374, 424, 35, 80.
 Stover, Sylvester and Wife, 172.

- Stow, Samuel, 26, 7, 8.
Stradbroke, 249.
Strafford, Earl of, 9.
Straiton, Samuel and Wife, 16.
Stratford, 88, 337, 411, 70, 1, 523, 59.
Stratton, Eliphalet, 511, 610.
Eliphaz, 511.
Ephraim, 569.
Strawberry Bunk, 3, 78, 174, 5.
Street, Nicholas, 262, 93, 300, 33, 86, 431, 557, 8, 61.
Samuel, 262, 561.
Samuel, Family of, 561.
Stubs, John, 502, 42, 6.
Sturgeon Creek, 459.
Sturgeon, Mr., 245.
Sturgis, Edward, 524.
Stuyvesant, Peter, 34, 5, 95, 335.
Suffolk, Mass., 32, 149.
Sugar Hill, 573.
Sumers, Henry, 567.
Swain, Richard, 216.
Swallow, (Ship,) 142.
Swansca, South Wales, 69.
Swanzey, or Swansca, 317, 448, 566.
Swedes at Delaware, 132, 3, 347.
Sweetser, Benjamin, 432, 85, 541.
Seth, 362.
Swift, Joan (?), 246.
Thomas, 601.
Sylvester, Dinah, 313.
Joseph, 313.
Symmes, Sarah, 258, 477.
William, 477.
Zechariah, 3, 45, 149, 212, 91, 9, 309, 17, 73, 86, 7, 437, 77, 509.
Zechariah, Family of, 477.
Zechariah, Jr., 477.
Synonds, Richard, 13.
Ruth, 309.
Samuel, 7, 77, 163, 300, 9, 64, 510, 11, 65, 626.
William, 436.
Tabor, William, 541.
Tackanash, John, (Indian,) 447, 8.
Tackuppawillin, Joseph, (Ind.) 518, 77, 86.
Tackuppawillin, Naos, (Indian,) 586.
Talbot, Major, 674.
Tallcott, John, 557.
Tanner, Mr., 449.
Tarrantines, 602.
Taunton, 4, 26, 116, 70, 234, 88, 316, 82, 4, 5, 524, 41, 58, 636, 7.
Tawanquatyeck, (Indian,) 447.
Taylor, Edward, 587.
Temple, Thomas, 172, 3, 228, 81, 90, 1, 300, 2, 11, 29, 45, 74, 5, 412, d. 512.
Tenterdon, Eng., 218.
Terry, Thomas, 464.
Teticut, 8.
Teunise, Lieut., 586.
Tewksbury, 518.
Thacher, Anthony, 315, 86.
Elizabeth, 235, 441.
Peter, 523.
Theodora, 523.
Thomas, 3, 149, 60, 233, 315, 435, 41, 95, 508, 86, 629.
Thomas, (Indian Teacher,) 201.
John, (Indian Teacher,) 518, 91.
Nathaniel, 455.
Robert, 515.
William, 386, 540.
Thompson, John, 337.
Robert, 12, 535, 44.
William, 3, 45, 160, 2, 93, 4, 210, 65, 73, 83, 314, 32, 42, 81.
Thornton, Thomas, 316, 450, 643.
Thorowgood, Thomas, 22.
Thorpe, John, (Preacher,) 250, 318.
W., 35.
Throgmorton, John, 545.
Thurloe, John, 268.
Thurston, Thomas, 143.
Tichfield, Eng., 13.
Tift, Joshua, 651.
Tilton, Peter, 496.
Titus, Robert, 116.
Tompson, Abigail, 381.
Ann, 381.
Mary, 320, 3, 45, 8, 62.
Topsfield. See New Meadows, 3, 280, 372, 499, 509.
Torrey, Joseph, 26, 7, 327, 424, 53, 62, 565, 650.
Torrey, Samuel, 435, 7, 81, 95, 514, 5.
Touton, John, 299.
Trask, Henry, 199, 217.
Mary, 211, 6, 8, 26, 33, 77.
William, 460.
Treat, Catharine, 194.
Richard, 194.
Robert, 266, 411, 529, 668, 9, 70, 1.
Samuel, 529.
Tring, (in Herdfordshire,) 362.
Trip, John, 253.
Trumbel, Brother, 507.
Trumbull, Benjamin, 188, 90, 410.
Mr., 228.
Trustram, R., 321.
Tubal, 205.
Tubbs, Marcy, 451.
William, 451.
Tuckanuckett, 432.
Tuckappowill, or Tuckapawillin, Joseph, (Indian,) 577.
Tucker, John, 537.
Tuckney, Anthony, 105.
Tupper, Thomas, 636.
Turner, Goodwife, 72.
Joseph, 451.
Mary, 593.
Michael, 240.
Robert, 150.
William, 362, 8, 428, 32, 3, 46, 86, k. 593.
Tuttle, John, 22.
Tweed, 217.
Tyn, Jonathan, 460.
Tyng, Edward, 209, 318, 457.
Tysoe, John, 502.
Uncas, (Sachem,) 38, 273, 8, 498, 551, 2, 6, 7.
Underhill, John, 131.
Upshall, or Upsall, Dorothy, 149, 98, 278.
Nicholas, 46, 142, 9, 68, 209, 78, 92.
Urc, Thomas. See Ewer.
Uselton, Francis, 540.
Usher, Hezekiah, 283, 91, 308, 484, 98, 585, 646, 7.
John, 492.
Utah, 286.
Uxbridge, 517.
Vane, Henry, 60, 8, 123, 7, 78, 224, 51, 6, 611.

- Vassal, John, 417.
 William, 4.
 Vaughan, George, 382.
 William, 464.
 Venner, Thomas, 281.
 Veren, Joshua, 33.
 Philip, 311.
 Vincent, Gudwife, 62, 223.
 William, 223.
 Vineyard, Martha's or
 Martin's. See Mar-
 tha's.
 Virginia, 205, 6, 12, 79,
 87, 8, 345, 490, 510,
 43, 6.
 Mission, 7, 306, 32.
 Virginias, 27.
 Vyal, John, 414.

 Waabesktaamin, 518.
 Waban, (Indian,) 420, 98,
 518, 9, 65, 91, 602,
 18.
 Wabquissit, 519.
 Wachusett, 591.
 Waddock, H., 321.
 Wade, Joane, 193.
 Robert, 193.
 Wadleigh, John, 318.
 Wadsworth, Samuel, 590.
 Wactung, (Uxbridge,) 517.
 Wait, Richard, 360.
 Wakeman, Samuel, 337,
 470, 1.
 Waldron, Richard, 319,
 23, 457, 647.
 Wales, 13, 297.
 Mr., 318.
 Walford, Jane, 175.
 Thomas, 175.
 Walker, Dr., 99.
 George, 588.
 Richard, 21.
 Robert, 470.
 William, 524.
 Zechariah, 411, 70, 2,
 3.
 Walley, Thomas, 317, 82,
 452, 3, 5.
 Wallingford, 666, 70.
 Wallis, Nathaniel, 250.
 Waltham, 270.
 Walton, William, 422, 30.
 Wamesits, 518, 70, 5, 8, 9.
 Wampanongs, 565, 87.
 Wannalancet, (Indian,) 447,
 518, 72, 3, 9,
 619.
 Wannamanhut, (Indian,) 488.
 Wannamoiset, 317.
 Ward, 519.
 John, 3, 437, 81.
 Ward, Nathaniel, 48, 344.
 Susan, 48.
 Wardell, or Wardwell,
 Eliakim, 323, 4, 93.
 Wardwell, William, 118.
 Ware, Peter, 390.
 Warham, John, 38, 191,
 267, 404, 12, 3, 39,
 67, 9, d. 473, 553.
 Warner, John, 30, 85, 575.
 Warren, Elizabeth, 530.
 Humphrey, 645.
 John, 93.
 Richard, 530.
 Warwick, 29, 31, 3, 72, 9,
 82, 3, 5, 8, 123, 6,
 7, 77, 9, 253, 369,
 94, 6, 401, 63, 548.
 Warwick, Earl of, Robert,
 429.
 Wasamegin, or Ousame-
 quin, (Sachem,) 273, 8.
 Wassakenoldquen, (Sa-
 chem,) 591.
 Watertown, 3, 7, 23, 206,
 64, 309, 435, 86,
 587, 97.
 Watson, John, Sen., 570.
 Watts, Isaac, 48.
 Thomas, 671.
 Waugh, Dorothy, 143, 5,
 96, 200.
 Way, Lieut., 523.
 Richard, 432.
 Weatherhead, or With-
 erhead, Mary, 143,
 59, 200.
 Weathersfield, 33, 4, 184,
 94, 208, 52, 9, 65,
 7.
 Weaver, Mr., 523.
 Webb, George, 235.
 John, 222.
 Webster, Elizabeth, 312.
 John, 441.
 Weeks, John, 181.
 Weetanno, (Indian,) 634.
 Welburn, Eng., 460.
 Weld, Daniel, 210.
 Thomas, 3, 41, 59,
 122, 47, 225, 348,
 456, 521.
 Wells, 28, 118, 73, 247,
 50, 318, 9, 21, 89,
 90, 2.
 Mr., 110.
 Thomas, 122, 31.
 Wenham, 3, 18, 103, 316,
 23, 4, 429, 500, 10,
 23.
 Wequapauge, 184.
 Weshakim, 517.
 Wessamomeks, 502.
 West Indians, 4.
 West Indies, 166, 272, 9,
 366, 506, 95.
 West Springfield, 413.
 Westcustogo, 390.
 Westerly, 399, 402, 63, 5,
 539, 41, 659.
 Western Islands, 2, 3.
 Westfield, 587.
 Westgate, 93.
 John, 607, 8.
 Westover, Jonas, 407.
 Wethersfield, 332, 8, 412,
 13, 23, 473.
 Weymouth, 3, 160, 97,
 253, 398, 435, 53,
 590.
 Whalley, Edward, 224,
 66, 71, 2, 9, 80,
 302, 29, 30, 58, 80,
 554, 71.
 Wharton, Edward, 199,
 205, 16, 7, 52, 72,
 7, 88, 307, 12, 7, 8,
 20, 3, 4, 43, 5, 62,
 429.
 Mary, 429.
 Philip, 429.
 Wheeler, Thomas, 576.
 Wheelwright, John, 122,
 75, 248, 51, 2, 393,
 536, 611, 3, 4.
 Whetcomb, Robert, 313,
 25.
 Witchcott, Benjamin, 446,
 537.
 Rebeckah, 537.
 White, Emanuel, 71.
 John, 602.
 Mr., 435.
 Nathaniel, 19.
 Peregrine, 386.
 Susannah, 167.
 William, 167.
 Whitehall, 9, 95.
 Whitfield, Henry, 12, 6,
 21, 38, 51, 2, 6, 89,
 218.
 Whiting, John, 148, 9,
 467, 72, 3, 558, 668.
 Samuel, 3, 22, 113,
 52, 267, 303, 73,
 435, 7, 43, 81, 91,
 5, 615.
 Samuel, Jr., 437, 81.
 Sybil, 148.
 William, 148, 94.
 Whitman, Zechariah, 266.
 Wiatt, James, 238.
 Wickendon, William, 87,
 463.
 Wickes, John, 337.
 Wickford, 404, 62, 74,
 559.

- Widders, Robert, 543.
 Wigglesworth, Edward, 33.
 Michael, 441.
 Wiggin, James, 321.
 Thomas, 28, 77, 104, 18, 324.
 Wilbare, Samuel, 397.
 Wilbore, (Samuel?), 255.
 Wild, Nicholas and Wife, 397.
 Wilkinson, Thomas, 520.
 Willard, Samuel, 116.
 473, 587, 603.
 Simon, 78, 579, 87.
 Willet, Hezekiah, 637.
 Joannah, 532.
 Mary, 532.
 Thomas, 174, 383, 448, 9, d. 532, 637.
 Williams, James, 388.
 John, 243, 439, 529.
 Mary, 383.
 Mr., 321.
 Robert, 87, 123, 256, 547.
 Roger, 26, 30, 3, 49, 50, 78, 9, 80, 1, 7, 106, 23, 7, 8, 40, 68, 75, 82, 256, 329, 33, 95, 401, 3, 62, 5, 98, 538, 41, 3, 9, 51, 650, 1, 5, 7, 82.
 Thomas, 384.
 Warham, 439.
 Williamson, Hugh, 307.
 Joseph, Sir, 648, 9.
 William, 249.
 Willis, Richard, 382.
 Samuel, 267, 326, 553.
 Willoughby, Francis, 4, 289, 374, 5, 429.
 Lord, 378, 419.
 William, 418, 9.
 Wilson, Edmund, 165, 6, 418.
 George, 277.
 John, 3, 6, 12, 20, 45, 57, 60, 3, 7, 72, 85, 165, 209, 22, 33, 99, 303, 68, 9, 73, 412, 7, 8, 9, 21, 37, 43, 92, 5, 521, 67.
 John, Jr., 160, 233, 418, 567, 620.
 Mrs., 188, 418, 620.
 Wilson, Robert, 301.
 Samuel, 397.
 Wiltshire, Eng., 47.
 Winan, Francis, 486, 620.
 John, 486.
 Winchester, Eng., 39.
 Wincoll, John, 117.
 Windsor, 265, 403, 9, 13, 67, 9, 70, 3, 553.
 Wing, Daniel, 234, 5, 8, 40, 2, 4, 5.
 Stephen, 234, 8, 42.
 Winsley, Mr., 104.
 Winslow, Edward, 3, 4, 8, 10, 3, 6, 7, 20, 41, 50, 4, 78, 89, 96, 107, 24, 39, d. 166, 380, 464, 633, 8.
 Edward, Family of, 166, 7.
 Job, 634.
 John, 318.
 Jonathan, 530.
 Josiah, 167, 529, 30, 82.
 Kenelme, Jr., 316.
 Margaret, 530.
 Winsor, Walter, 524.
 Winter, Christopher, 236.
 John, 28.
 Winthrop, Adam, 10.
 Elizabeth, 500.
 John, 4, 6, d. 10, 28, 9, 34, 5, 48, 71, 4, 86, 92.
 John, Jr., 28, 30, 80, 2, 9, 103, 4, 6, 25, 78, 93, 4, 256, 62, 5, 7, 87, 91, 329, 33, 5, 74, 5, 404, 5, 528, 37, 53, 657, 67, d. 672, 3, 4.
 Mary, 28.
 Wait, 568.
 Wise, John, 617, 70.
 Wiswall, Ichabod, 382.
 Thomas, 346.
 Wiswell, John, 443, 82.
 Withamfrarey, Eng., 42.
 Witherell, William, 115, 529.
 Withers, Thomas, 533.
 Witter, William, 46, 79.
 Woburn, 3, 98, 304, 50, 446, 60, 86, 9, 576.
 Wolstenholme, Sir John, 341.
 Wonemeytonian's Hill, 461.
 Wood, Anthony, 114.
 Woodborough, Eng., 47.
 Woodbridge, Benjamin, 473.
 John, 3, 305, 6, 413, 35, 68, 9, 71, 87, 92, 563, 626, 70.
 Woodbury, Ct., 470, 559.
 Woodgreene, Mr., 297.
 Woodhouse, (Vessel,) 199.
 Woodman, Edward, 435, 6, 41, 3, 77, 8, 92, 500.
 Woodstock, 518, 9.
 Woodward, Nathaniel, 524.
 Peter, 439.
 William, 439.
 Worcester, William, 3, 164, 75, 215, 21, d. 300, 519.
 Worden, Peter, 449.
 Woronoke, (Hadley,) 263.
 Wraisbury, Eng., 65, 287.
 Wright, Dea., 165.
 Hannah, 277, 362.
 John, 486, 97.
 Joseph, 486.
 Lydia, 610.
 Wunnanauhkomum, (Indian preacher,) 604.
 Wuttasacomponom, Tom, (Indian,) 677.
 Wuttowhan, (Ind.), 352.
 Wyborn, Capt., 509.
 Yale, Ann, 188, 257.
 Children of, 257.
 Yarmouth, 71, 116, 236, 40, 8, 306, 16, 449, 50, 2, 524.
 York, 77, 117, 8, 73, 4, 247, 9, 319, 20, 1, 67, 90, 1, 459.
 Yorkshire, 77, 118, 72, 3, 318, 9, 20, 89, 90, 1.
 Young, Dr., 222.
 Youngs, John, 556.
 Family of, 556.
 Zurich, 326.

INDEX

TO THE SETTLEMENTS, GOVERNMENTS, COMPANIES, PUBLICATIONS,
RELIGIOUS DENOMINATIONS, AND OTHER SUBJECTS CONTAINED
IN THIS VOLUME,

When the several pages referring to the same things are denoted by tens or hundreds, these figures will be expressed but once, except when intervened by words.

- Abuse of liberty, 127, 8.
Act of Parliament to promote gospel among Indians, 12; conformity, 298, 311, 6.
Additions to the church, 71.
Address to Parliament, 4; to Peters, 15; to Cromwell, 130; to Swedish Governor, 132; to King, 230, 3, 81, 7, 8, 329, 30, 4, 5, 49, 50, 66, 98, 628; to Earl Clarendon, 398.
Admission to the church, 3, 6.
Admonition, for fashionable follies, 141; absence from worship, 159; denying baptism to child, 151, 3.
Adoption, 5.
Advice, 34, 139.
Adultery, punishment, 237, 8.
Advocates for N. E. in England, 227.
Afflictions, 340.
Agency abroad, 343.
Agents to England, Williams, 82, 5; Clark, 83; Bradstreet and Norton, 284, 5, 9; Leverett, 232; Clark 254, 325, 652; Clark and Williams, 603.
Alarm as to the Dutch and Indians, 93.
Allegiance to the Commonwealth, 209.
Anabaptists. See Baptists.
Anarchy. See Disorder.
Anchor Tavern, committee hold session at, 289.
Animadversions on the Antisynodalia Americana, 6.
Annexation of Maine to Mass., 75.
Ansibersers, 340.
Answer of Dudley, 61.
Antichrist, 3, 23, 72, 299.
Antidote against "the plague of the world," 181.
Antinomians, 50, 61.
Antisynodalia, 291, 9, 312, 41, 478.
Anti-Synodists, 505.
Annuity, renewed to Gov. Endicott's widow, 481.
Apology, 4, 16, 8, 25, 34, 43; of Matthews, 53, 62; of Howland, 235; for Lieut. Pike, 103; of Malden, 136; for treatment of Quakers, 230, 31, 85, 628; for treatment of Roger Williams, 286; of Eliot, 276, 7; of John Davenport, 330; of Hathorne, 359; of L. Rhodes, 368; for Samuel Newman, 25; of H. and J. Peck, 34; of Thomas Brackett, 208; for Massachusetts, 516.
Apologetical preface, 294, 300.
Apostasy of Anti-Christ, 63.
Apostolic function not ceased, 3; office, 50; commission interrupted, 84.
Apparel, excess of, prohibited, 52, 141, 285, 91, 577.
Application from England for recruits for Dutch war, 104.
Apprehensions of Baptists, 79.
Apprenticeship of Indians, 225.
Approval of J. Norton, 64.
Arabic at Harvard, 10.
Arms at public worship, 34, 6, 114, 244.
Arms, King's; 629.
Arraignment of Pyncheon, 21, 43, 5.
Articles of confederation, 384; of war, 573, 82.
Artillery election sermon. See Election Sermons.
Assembly's confession of faith, 4, 5, 8, 9, 45, 6.
Assistance to weak congregations by General Court, 316.
Association of churches, 291; of ministers, 98, 491, 3.
Assumption of civil power, 585.
Assurance of salvation, 5.
Attend worship, all required to, 37.
Bacon, Nath., Jr., rebel in Virginia, 677.
Bakers, fraud in bread, 35.

- Banishment, 31, 3, 57, 61; for bigamy, 76, 81, 5, 161, 85, 202, 4, 6, 8, 11, 6, 20, 2, 41, 55, 6, 9, 61, 2, 73, 85, 92; from other colonies repealed by charter of Rhode Island, 327; 8, 76, 625.
 Baptism, 3, 5; of children, 9, 10, 2, 24, 33, 8, 46, 85, 8, 92, 3, 135, 8, 41, 52, 65, 90, 1, 8, 250, 64, 5, 230, 4, 5; interrupted, 106; who subjects of, 290, 1, 301, 4, 10, 40, 1, 416, 7, 68, 78, 507.
 Baptists, 12, 6, 25, 7, 8, 46; trial of, 48, 9, 60, 1, 3, 72, 3, 9, 81, 4, 5, 7; Long Island, 88, 93, 103; Dunster, 106; Chauncy, 117, 35, 8, 53, 65, 77, 80, 1, 98, 223, 5, 69, 97, 304, 10, 7, 41; church, 262, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 71, 2, 97, 9, 402, 15, 7, 23, 7; ordered to depart, 428, 32, 3, 4, 8, 46, 7, 9, 65, 85, 6, 96, 7, 507, 9, 10, 4, 6, 40, 1, 63, 7, 8, 9, 603, 6, 8, 20, 31, 40.
 Basin of water thrown down in worship, 304.
 Batteries of Boston to be repaired, 364.
 Baxter's Call, 342, 7.
 Bear arms, 653.
 Beaver. See Peltry.
 Beer, retail of, 127; to Indians, 131.
 Beneficence of Hopkins, 266.
 Bible, Indian, 209, 19, 25, 74, 82, 3, 9, 98, 303; dedicated to the King, 312, 41.
 Bigamy, 76, 85, 172.
 Bishop of New England, 297.
 Bishop's authority, 3.
 Black coats, 201.
 Black hole, no apology for cruelties at, 94.
 Blasphemy, 67, 108, 85, 494, 515, 26.
 Blastings, 376, 73.
 Blessing, parental, 137.
 Blood shed on R. I., 123.
 Bloody tenet, 87, 538.
 Board a week, 12.
 Boarders by lone women, 515.
 Body of liberties, 480.
 Bonds for appearance, 43, 111, 376.
 Bone setter, 552.
 Books, 2; for Harvard Coll., 10; for Mr. Eliot, 209; at Harv. Coll., 601.
 Bound to a post, 73.
 Boundaries of Massachusetts, 75, 78; of Me., 533.
 Branding, 57, 259, 60, 76.
 Breach of the confederacy, 104.
 Broken heart causes death, 512.
 Brotherhood, rights of, 261.
 Brownists, 24, 5.
 Building for education of Indians at Cambridge, 101, 10.
 Bulls, (edicts,) 114.
 Burglary, death, 540.
 Burial of suicides, 226.
 Burning of London, 415.
 Cages, 244, 381, 96, 608, 16.
 Call of ministers, 190, 1; Davenport to Boston, 421, 69; of J. Bailey, 501.
 Capital letters worn as a punishment, 237, 8, 493.
 Captives arrive, 372, 678.
 Cards and dice, 167, 207, 444.
 Care for neglected children, 509, 11, 2.
 Catechism, 15; not taught at Kittery, 28, 36, 109; Pierson's and Eliot's, 133; Noyes's, 150; Fisk's, 153; Pierson's, 187, 94, 209, 10; Cotton's, 224, 60, 7, 82; Eliot's, 283; from house to house, 434, 527, 77, 645.
 Catechumens of Kennebecs beaten for professing Christianity, 75.
 Caterpillars strip the trees, 27, 376.
 Catholic church, 6; religion, supplanters of, 3, 26, 8, 42, 71, 4, 5, 81, 105, 21, 40, 65, 6, 72, 8, 224, 8, 56, 304, 57; in R. I., 394, 6, 426, 30, 59, 80, 512, 33, 4, 64, 605, 22, 5.
 Censure of Mrs. Hutchinson's sons, 64.
 Censures, 4, 6.
 Chaldee, 10.
 Charge of disloyalty against New England, 271, 4.
 Charity. See Contribution.
 Charles II. declared by Virginia, 205; proclaimed in Edinburg, 9; do. in Boston, 280.
 Charter, for mission among the Indians, 12, 3, 292; of Conn., 329, 32, 3; of Mass., 296; secreted, 343; gives full power to govern, 357, 61, 5, 6; violated by commissioners, 370; for Duke of York, 389, 494, 5; of Rhode Island, 325, 8, 9.
 Children baptized, 88, 603, 4; born on Sabbath not baptized, 226; of the covenant, 671; duties to, from the church, 671; of the church, 6, 12; disciplined, 73, 138, 52; rebellious, 494.
 Christian commonwealth, 15, 210, 73, 6, 7; deportment, 87, 8; liberty, 5.
 Christmas forbidden, 207; required, 361, 80.
 Christ's humanity denied, 242; prayer for believers, 194.
 Church discipline. See Discipline.
 Church government. See Discipline.
 Churches and number of professors, 447, 502.
 Church and state, 53, 4, 73, 232, 56, 75, 493.
 Church, controversies settled by civil magistrates, 500, 1.
 depends on college, 513.

- Church, divisions in, 28,
238, 9, 59, 60, 4,
5, 467, 72, 92, 500,
15.
duties of officers of,
57, 8.
general court and
ministers, 259.
matter and form, 473.
may keep days of
fasting, etc., 492.
membership, 264.
not to be formed
without consent of
rulers, 26, 185, 91.
opposed to having the
parish engaged in
their affairs, 561.
power to choose its
officers, 53, 191.
rights endangered by
judicial power, 303.
Wethersfield, stand-
ing of the, 266, 7.
what is a true, 189,
90.
- Church of, pastor and sal-
ary of the, Andover,
Boston, Braintree,
Cambridge, Charles-
town, Concord, Ded-
ham, Dorchester, Do-
ver, Exeter, Glouces-
ter, Hampton, Haver-
hill, Hingham, Hull,
Ipswich, Lynn, Man-
chester, Newbury,
New Meadows, Read-
ing, Rowley, Rox-
bury, Salem, Salis-
bury, Strawberry
Bank, Sudbury, Wat-
ertown, Wenham,
Weymouth, Woburn,
3; report in the Leg-
islature of the salary,
etc., 160, 1; Salem,
501; Newbury, 503.
- Churches, or Church, 2,
6; at Bermuda per-
secuted, 17, 9; of
Dedham, 18; Wen-
ham, 19; Boston and
Taunton, 26; Mal-
den and Lynn, 53;
questioned, 53, 4;
officers, 57; New-
bury, 58; Malden,
62; Boston and Ips-
wich, 64; new, of
Boston, 69, 70; na-
tional and parishion-
al, 84; Providence
and Newport, 87;
Farmington and Nor-
walk, 90; Boston
and others, 93; Bos-
ton, Ipswich and Sa-
lem, 96, 8; Woburn,
98; Boston, 99; In-
dian, 105; Boston,
new, 108, 9; Scitu-
ate, 115; Wells, Cape
Porpoise, 118; Hamp-
ton, 122; Baptist, of
Providence, 126;
New Haven, 133;
Boston, Braintree,
Dedham, Dorchester,
Roxbury, 134, 5;
Boston, Ipswich,
136; Charlestown,
138; Ipswich, 141;
Boston, Cambridge,
Haverhill, Ipswich,
Rowley, Salisbury,
Sudbury, 143; Bos-
ton, 149; Ipswich,
Chelmsford, Boston
and Hartford, 152;
Salisbury, Haverhill,
163; Plymouth, 166;
Sandwich, 168;
Wells, 173; Ports-
mouth, 174; Baptist,
at Newport, 181;
trouble in Hartford,
185, 7, 92; divisions,
203, 8, 9; Indian,
formed, 210; Hart-
ford, 211, 7; Salis-
bury, 221; Malden,
223; Plymouth, 246;
freemen without ch.
membership, 247;
Hartford, Wethers-
field, Fairfield, Mid-
dletown, Stamford,
258, 68; Boston, 288;
Salem, 291, 301;
Charlestown, 301;
Lynn complains, 303;
Charlestown, denial,
310; Boston, 311;
Charlestown, 341;
Salem, London,
Charlestown, 362, 62;
Charlestown, 365, 6,
7; Boston, 367, 9;
Indian, 387; Middle-
town, Conn., 410, 3;
Ipswich and Marble-
head, 422; Boston,
432; South Boston,
formed; Newbury in
trouble, 435, 6; who
for old church, and
who for new, 3d, of
Boston, 1st, of Salem,
444; New Haven,
Windsor, Kenilworth,
Bradford, Stratford,
Rye, Saybrook, Hart-
ford, 466, 74; Bos-
ton, South, 481; 1st,
Boston, 482; Row-
ley, Newbury, 487,
92; gathered by ap-
probation, 492; Mal-
den, 497; Newbury,
500; Boston, 505, 7,
8; Salem, 510, 11,
20, 2, 3; Scituate,
529; formation of,
555; Salem, 563, 5,
6; Bay Psalm-book
adopted, 468; Salis-
bury, 609; Pagaw-
sett and Wallingford,
666.
- Cider, 131.
- City, Boston petitions to
be a, 208.
- Civil and ecclesiastical re-
lations, 38, 53, 73.
- Civil liberties, 358.
- Civil magistrates, power
of, 6, 66, 7.
- Civil order, 176, 82.
- Civilization of Indians.
See Mission.
- Clergy, 601.
- Clerical propositions, 233.
- Coat for Indians, every
year, 225.
- Coining of money, 279,
629.
- Collection for Indian mis-
sion, 13.
- College, Harvard, 3, 10,
3, 5; gifts, corpora-
tion, 18; corn, 33;
scholars, 37; enlarge-
ment, 50, 1; assist-
ance, 62, 7, 70; New
Haven, 90; Cam-
bridge, 103, 4; colo-
nists taxed £100 a
year, 111; President
Chauncy, 117; fel-
lowship, 130, 3; New
Haven, 133; Har-
vard, 136, 7; students
whipped and fined,
149, 64; Trinity, Ire-
land, 159; New Ha-
ven and Cambridge,
184, 9; Indian, 198;
learning, 207; three
years' study changed
to four, 226, 7; New
Haven, 280; Har-

- ward, 298, 308, 9, 323, 31; land, 344; Indian, 348; fabric for Indian scholars, 357; described by commissioners, 380, 1; New Haven, 408, 61; encouragement of Cambridge, 482, 7, 8, 91, 9, 508, 9; church depends on it, 513; a student punished, 515; difficulties, 520; contribution, 529, 63, 4; president, edifice, 555; library, 601, 20.
- Colonies. See New England.
- Colors, Eng., 42, 360.
- Comet, 352, 83.
- Commentary on John, 205.
- Commerce. See Maritime.
- Commissioners of United Colonies, 19, 29. See Government of Upper Canada, 114, 24, 70, 201; letter to missionary corpora., 298, 302, 7, 8, 12; to R. I., 325, 6, 33; decision as to New Haven and Conn., 336; letter to them, 341, 2, 7; advice, 348; confederation illegal, 361, 82, 96, 419, 44, 5, 6, 9, 50, 5, 66, 72, 4, 529, 54, 7, 71; to council of Conn., 582.
- Commissioners, Royal, 302, 22; salaries, 342; arrival, 345; feared, 348; letters, 354; judicial cognizance, 355; slandered, 356; claim to be court, demand, 359; rupture, 360, 1; trouble with constables, 363, 4; faulted by Davenport, 365, 6, 8, 71, 3, 5; refuse a conference, 377; write, 378, 81; their communications to Plymouth, 384, 5, 6, 92, 3, 4, 6, 400, 1, 4, 6, 8, 9, 13, 4, 91, 507; interview, 346.
- Commissions against the Dutch, 124.
- Committee of foreign plantations, 4.
- Common Prayer Book cited, 306, 413.
- Commonwealth of Eng., 255.
- Communion between Indians and English, 508.
- church, 5, 6, 141, 52, 90.
- of churches, 58, 478.
- of pres. and cong., 10, 191.
- withheld from sisters of Boston church, 442, 3.
- Complaint against Rhode Island, 79; against W. Cheesbrook, 87; Mass., 279, 85; of R. I., 465; of Conn., 469.
- Compliment to Mass. from R. Williams, 177.
- Concord lands to pay public debts, 639, 40.
- Concordance of the Bible, 316.
- Condition of N.E. churches, 21, 2.
- Conduct of commissioners, 373.
- Confederation, purpose, 6, 35, 335, 57; suspected, 384, 419, 22, 66, 72, 97.
- Conference meetings, 454, 555, 98.
- Confession of faith, 4, 6, 45, 304. See Assembly. Of J. Dand, 4; S. Straiton, 16; W. Barstow, 114, 5; J. Gould, 415.
- Conflagration of London, 415.
- Congregational churches, 2, 3, 58, 106, 91.
- Congregational way approved, 505.
- Congregationalism, influence on Eng., 3, 22, 64, 5; benefits, 74, 137; commissioners in error, 394.
- Congregationalists, 40, 106, 20; in Eng., 343, 496.
- Conquest of Canada, 369, 73, 5.
- Conscience, liberty of, 82, 4, 126, 255, 85, 410.
- Conscientious scruples against bearing arms, 550, 653, 5.
- Consociation of churches. See Communion. 19, 285, 9, 91, 2, 5, 6, 301, 40.
- Conspiracy, 461, 4.
- Contribution of money for the church at Segotca, 17, 9; for scholars, 33, 6, 62, 7, 8, 70; for New Haven church, 89; for salaries, 160, 7; of strangers, 331; for Cape Fear, 417; for Harvard, 488; for fraud, 533, 52; sufferers by war, 573, 640, 53, 74, 5, 7; for poor, 619, 25.
- Controversy, Massachusetts and other colonies, 6; Scots and English, 7, 11; with Pynchon as to redemption, 20, 1; north line of Massachusetts, Lyconia, Maine, 391; with the Dutch, 89; between Massachusetts and other colonies, 93, 5. See Church divisions, as to Mr. Davenport, 438, 62, 3.
- Conversational terms, 222.
- Conversion of Quakers, attempt, result, 241, 4.
- Converts, 558.
- Corahism, 417.
- Corn. See Grain.
- Corruption of church beguns in families, 514.
- Cotton's Keys, 160; discourse on government, 184.
- Council—Case of Matthews, 60, 2; Ipswich and Boston, 136; at Whitehall, 137; Haverhill, Salisbury, and Rowley, 143; at Hartford, 152, 89, 93, 209, 11, 59, 63, 4, 5; Barnstable, 315; called disorganizers, 481; as to Col. Pike, 599; as to sins, 669, 70.
- Council of state, England, 82, 4, 6, 121, 3; war, 114, 524.
- Councils approved of by Synod, 5.

- County Court to see that ministers' dues are paid, 107, 493; of Devonshire, Maine, named by Court, 535.
- Course of Cromwell justified by Cotton, 46.
- Court Com'rs, 535, 59; General, Plymouth, may send back unfit members, 237.
- Court may settle a minister, 474.
- Courts for Indians, 237.
- Covenant changed, 118; divine, 5; renew, 535; renewed, 665; half-way. See Half-way Covenant. Of grace, 106; of nature with Adam, by Pynchon, 291; renewal of, 272.
- Covenanters, 47.
- Creation, 5.
- Creed, 235.
- Crimes, Adultery, 33, 237, 8.
- Bigamy, 76.
- Burglary, 540.
- Cromwell refuses the crown, 152.
- Cromwellites, 380.
- Crops damaged, 4.
- Currency, 89, 99.
- Cursing or smiting parents, 526.
- Customs, (in commerce,) freed from, 232.
- Dancing, mixed, 42, 453, 508.
- Danger of tolerating levellers, 17.
- Day-doom, 309.
- Days of recreation, 127.
- Deaconesses, 25, 57.
- Deacons, 6, 25; exempt from training, 35, 57, 8, 89.
- Dealing with church-members, 555.
- Death penalty for Quakers, 201, 4, 76.
- Deaths—Henry Green, 7; Charles I., 9; J. Winthrop, 10; T. Shepard, 14; A. Rigby and D'Aulney, 28; H. Smith, 33, 4; Mary Fenwick, 35; J. Cotton, 70; T. Dudley, 97; J. Lothrop, 115; E. Poole, 116; J. Haynes, 130; N. Rogers, 136; Mrs. C. Mather, 139; Noyes, 150; Mayhew, Jr., 164, 5; E. Winslow, 166; Miles Standish, 168; William Bradford, 169; D. Maud, 174; P. Prudden, 186; E. Hopkins, 188, 9; Fenwick, 192, 3; Cromwell, 200, 5; P. Bulkley, 206; L. and C. Southwick, 206; R. Partridge, 235; H. Dunster, 240; Theophilus Eaton, 257, 8; R. Blinman, 265; E. Rogers, 269, 70; R. Smith, 271; S. Haugh, 291; W. Worcester, 300; J. Miller, 315; S. Newman, 316; T. Dalton, 322; S. Stone, Sen. and Jr., 335; Z. Brigidon, 338; R. Denton, 338; Endicott, 354; W. Tompson Cheeshaumuck, 381, 2; A. Blackman, 411; I. and N. Chauncy, 411; J. Woodbridge, 413; E. Fletcher, 411, 5; J. Wilson, 418, 9; S. Shepard, 424; H. Flint, 424; J. Mitchell, 429; W. Walton, 430; J. Eliot, Jr., 430, 31; R. Mather, 436, 7; W. Brackenbury, 439; W. Woodward, 439; E. Mather, 439; J. Davenport, 442; J. Reyner, 460; W. Wickendon, 463; N. Collins, 470; Z. Walker, 470; J. Warham, 473; P. Pruden, 474, 5; Z. Symmes, 477; J. Allen, 482, 4; C. Chauncy, 487, 8; J. Amanhut, 488; Edward Johnson, 489; A. Newman, 500; R. Bellingham, 501; M. Powell, 503; J. Gilbert, 509; T. Gould, 513, 4; S. Danforth, 520; J. Oxenbridge, 523; J. Howland, 529; T. Prince, 530; E. Warren, 530; T. Willet, 532; E. Hilton, 537; L. Hoar, 579; E. Brown, 609; T. Shepard, 620; J. Brown, 624; T. Thacher, 629; J. Holmes, 635; N. Baker, 643; J. Clark, 652, 3; S. Gorton, 653, 9; W. Coddington, 661, 4; T. James, 668.
- Debt of Mass., 629.
- Declaration of commis'srs, 93, 4.
- of General Court, 284, 5; to commissioners, 359, 60; against Baptists, 368.
- of war against French and Dutch, 369; ag. French, 411.
- Decline of religion, 365.
- Decrees of God, 5.
- Defamation, 95.
- Defeat in Maine, 612.
- Defense of Cotton against Cawdrey, 160; of the country, 549.
- Defender of the faith, 279.
- Deficiency of ministers, 316, 8.
- Deliverance of New England, 340.
- Denial of a plot by the Dutch Government, 94, 5.
- Denial of baptism, etc., in England, 9; of the Scriptures, 61; of Christ, 242, 55.
- Denominations — Independent, 2; Papist, Episcopalians, Anti-Christian, Congregational, Presbyterians, 3, Presbyterians, Indep., 9; Episcopal, Congregational, 10; Jew, 11; Baptists, 12, 6; Jew, 16; Gortonists, Levellers, 17; Quakers, 20; Jews, Cong., 22; Anti-christ., Presbyterian, 23; Epis., Brownists, Separatists, Puritan, Huguenot, Ind. Baptist, Papal, 24, 7; Gort., 29, 30; Lutherans, 58; Anabaptists, Seekers, Antinomians, 61, 3; Presb., Ind., 64, 5;

- Antichr., Seeker, 72; Papists, Episcopalian, Presbyterian, Ind., 74; Epis., 75; Papists, 81; Gort. 82; Presb., 95; Papal, Anabap., Prelatical, Enthusiastical, Familistical, 98; Epis., Cong., 120; Presb., Ind., 124; Quakers, 128; Baptists, 138; Ranters or Quakers, Anti-christ., 140, 6, 9, 61, 3, 6; Seek., Rant., 168, 70, 80, 1, 3; Adamites, 187, 91, 3; Quakers, 195, 7; Baptists, 198; Quakers, 198, 219, 20, 3, 5, 33, 4, 46; Epis., Fifth Monarchy-men, 251, 2; Quakers, 253, 6; Deny Christ, Universalist, 255, 6; Quakers, 260, 2, 5, 9, 72, 82, 4, 9, 91, 2, 6, 301, 3, 7, 9, 17, 8, 20, 2, 4, 35; Baptists, 341; Quakers, 343, 5, 8; Presb., Quakers, 352, 61; Baptists, Quakers, 363; Baptists, 368, 9; Quakers, Epis., Jews, 369; Baptists presented, 371, 3, 6; Quakers, 381, 6, 7; Epis., Cong., Roman Catholic, Genevalists, 392, 400, 2, 7, 13, 5, 7, 8, 22, 9, 42, 59; Gort., Bapt., Cong., Epis., 462, 5, 8; Quakers, Ranters, Adam., 469; Cong., Epis., 482, 5, 6; Familism, 507; Baptists, 513; Quakers, 514, 6; Catholics, 533, 5; Qua., Presb., 538; Seventh-day Baptists, 539, 40; Quakers, 542; Ranters, 543, 50; Rogers, 551; Quakers, Ranters, Adamites, 555; Prelatical, 566; Baptists, 567; Quakers, 568, 72, 3; Baptists, 577; Quakers, 582; Baptists, 588, 608, 9; Cong., 651, 7, 8, 60.
- Designs of Indians, hostile, 147; of the court against New England, 279. See Purpose.
- Dialects, Indian, 225.
- Dialogue, from Bradford, 24, 73, 4.
- Dice. See Cards.
- Difficulties in England, 3, 7, 9; United Colonies, 6, 11, 23; at Dover and Exeter, 23; with the Gortonists, 29, 30; in England, 220, 3.
- Dipped over head and ears, 495.
- Discipline, church, 2, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 18, 20, 1, 35, 42, 3, 6, 53, 60, 2, 73, 138, 49, 51; of children, 152, 3, 9, 90, 1, 235, 75, 489, 534.
- Discussion, 6, 11, 20, 1, 6, 7, 9, 30, 43, 5; baptism, 80, 1; Powell's case, 99, 100; on a declaration of war with the Dutch, 100, 1, 462, 543, 9; between Williams and Throgmorton, 545, 6.
- Diseases, 4, 26, 68, 89, 136, 88, 239, 42, 62, 72, 88, 92, 334, 5, 499, 500, 22.
- Disfranchisements, 99, 124, 80, 241, 334, 44, 94; forgiven, 482, 530.
- Dismission, church, Hurwood, 503.
- Disorder at Greenwich, Maine, 247, 9; d. not creed punished, 285.
- Dissenters, case of Matthews, 43; as to confession of faith, 46; synod, 340; in Eng., 345; Bradstreet dissenters from letter to Secretary, 6, 507.
- Dissolution of Plymouth Court desired, 25; of Parliament, 95; of the Union, 102, 3, 30.
- Disturbance of preachers, 37; public, 321.
- Disturbers of worship, 228, 449.
- Disunion, 288.
- Divine law, 5; providence, 491, 9.
- Divinity, 66.
- Divisions in U. Colonies, duties at Saybrook, 6, 7, 11; R. I., 87, 123, 6; U. Coll., 130; R. I., 175, 81; Hartford, 186, 7; in churches and colonies, 239, 92; Mass., 379, 441, 44; R. I., 462, 74, 515.
- Divorce for adultery, 33; bigamy, 76; absence, 104, 93; allowance, 314, 451, 74, 549, 659, 76, 9, 80.
- Doctrines, 4, 5, 18, 23, 33, 43, 7, 8, 60, 5, 6, 145, 6; general redemption, 181; justification, 210; of the Quakers, 214, 30, 42; Gorton denies Christ, Universalism, 255, 6; of the Quakers, 286, 92, 386; agree with church of Eng., 622.
- Dress. See Apparel.
- Drinking at publichouses, 7, 111, 203; health, 281, 315.
- Drought, 4, 292, 334, 76.
- Drunkennes. See Intemperance.
- Duplicity of T. Harrison, 7.
- Ears cropped, 163, 200, 2.
- Earthquake, 316.
- East India breakfast, threat of the Dutch, 94.
- Education. See Instruction, 645.
- Efficacious calling, 5.
- Ejected ministers, 552.
- Ejection of ministers in Eng., 298.
- Elders, 95, 8; address to the king, 232, 3, 87, 373, 6; concerning patent line, 596.
- Election of officers, 6, 296, 7.
- Election sermons, 274, 303, 4, 5, 416, 24, 38, 43, 79, 90, 6, 504, 14, 5, 33, 68, 65, 7, 88, 613, 40, 2, 78.
- Embargo, 131, 2, 378.
- Embassy, fears of, 287.

- Emigration to Ireland, 22; to Delaware, 35; to Ireland, 55; to Eng., 59; to Delaware, 71; prevented by the Dutch, 89, 138; Jamaica, 140, 51; to Delaware, 184, 6; to N. E., 298.
 End. See Purpose.
 English names scarce in Boston, 380.
 Entailment, 530.
 Enthusiasts, 119.
 Episcopacy, 2, 3, 296, 8, 311, 8, 20.
 Episcopalians, 24, 120, 226, 8, 50, 1, 322, 61; society formed in Boston, 369; in R. I., 397; in Conn., 407, 25, 59, 509.
 Erastianism, 303.
 Errors, Mr. Matthews, 8, 42, 3; Pynchon, 54; are rife in England, 93; preached, 95; renounced in Keayne's will, 98; fast for, 140; of the Quakers, 142; of Humphrey Norton, 170; whoever introduces, to be punished, 525.
 Evangelist, Eliot declines to be called an, 16.
 Evangelization of Indians. See Mission.
 Every town to provide a house for its minister, 493.
 Evil speaking, 86.
 Evils to be reformed, 571, 2, 4, 7.
 Examination of Quakers, 145.
 Excommunication of Cheever, 35, 46; A. Hutchinson, 64; Ann Gillam, 152; sister Fogg, 153, 9, 98; Hollister, 262, 3; of a church, 315; Forsdick, 341; Baptists, 366, 72; Sarah Shattuck, 381, 550.
 Executions, Mrs. Jones, 4; Charles 1st, 9; Peters, 16; Robinson and Stevenson, 212, 45; Mary Dyer, 221; Leddra, 272, 3; Cornell, 549; Peters, 610.
 Exemptions from training, 35.
 Exiles, 17, 9.
 Experience, relation of, 630.
 Experiments of spiritual life, 81.
 Exposition of Ecclesiastes, 105.
 Façons in R. I., 29, 31.
 Faith, 5, 34; not questioned, except injuring the public peace, 637.
 Fall of man, 5.
 False gods of Indians, 326.
 False oath, 312.
 False reports, 37, 302.
 False statement to injure Baptists, 509, 10.
 Families visited, 441.
 Familists, 426, 90, 507.
 Family duties, 249, 58, 669.
 Family, each, to have a book of laws, 556; religion, 668, 9.
 Famine threatened, 441, 574.
 Farewell sermons, 520.
 Fashion, long hair, 12; dress, 141. See Apparel.
 Fasts, 4, 23, 6, 34, 45, 68, 89, 93, 114, 31, 2, 3, 40, 84, 5, 92, 208, 18, 20, 62, 3, 71, 2, 85, 92, 8, 311, 37, 43, 52, 6; d. of Charles I., 361, 7, 73, 6, 92, 415, 21, 41, 4, 72, 91, 9, 503, 20, 9, 51, 5, 7, 63, 6, 7, 72, 8, 80, 602, 21, 7, 35, 7, 666, 8, 9; changed to thanksgiving, 675, 6, 8, 80, 2.
 Favor of Cromwell for N. E., 66.
 Fears for Mass. Patent, 350, 2.
 Fellows of college, 67, 521.
 Fencing school, 508.
 Ferry, income for college, 111.
 Fifth monarchy, 125, 281, 415.
 Fines, 4, 7, 8, 12, 6, 26, 37, 42, 3, 54, 61, 3, 9, 72, 3, 80, 1, 5, 93, 9, 103, 11, 4, 6, 9, 27, 31, 48, 9, 67, 70, 2, 6, 9, 85, 7, 91, 3, 7, 9, 203, 5, 23, 8, 34, 5, 7, 9, 40, 6, 52, 60, 2, 73, 80, 92, 300, 7, 13, 21, 45, 73, 81, 2, 94, 422, 9, 32, 41, 9, 51, 5, 9, 65, 91, 3, 7, 507, 15, 24, 5, 6, 9, 32, 3, 7, 8, 55, 6, 7, 96, 673.
 Fire, children burnt, 93, 220; in London, 459.
 First principles of N. E. published, 478.
 First principles of the oracles of God, 2.
 Fish died, 445, 6.
 Fishery, 530, 1.
 Fishing corn, 354.
 Fleet from Cromwell for N. E., 112.
 Foot ball, 252.
 Foreigners. See Strangers.
 Form of a visible church, 6.
 Fort built, 595.
 Fort Casamiras, 171.
 Fortified houses, 352.
 Forts, French, taken, 171.
 Fount of letters, 370.
 Fountain of life, 58.
 Fourth commandment denied, 28.
 Fraud in mission land, 289.
 Freedom, 179.
 Freedom of human agency, 5.
 Freemen of Me. less restricted, 77; of R. I., 86; of Me., 118, 21, 7; qualifications, 185, 6, 91, 2; petition on the subject, 197; forfeiture, 237, 43, 4, 7, 63, 71, 96, 7, 306, 32, 3, 46, 7; of good moral character, 356, 61, 80, 4, 403, 6, 10, 53, 9, 65, 99, 508, 26, 7, 30, 1.
 Freeport, 409.
 Free schools. See Schools.
 Free state, 271, 380.
 Free trade, 74.
 Free will, 65, 6.
 Free worship, 84.
 Fugitives in R. I., 79, 82, 147.
 Full communion. See Communion.
 Funds to be raised, 280.
 Funeral charges, 361, 2.
 Furs. See Peltry.
 Future state, 5.

- Gag in the mouth, 533.
 Gallows, rope round the neck, 273, 355.
 Gambling, 37, 167, 85, 91, 207, 526, 33, 75.
 Games, 207, 555.
 General Convention, 468.
 General Governor for New England, 120, 225, 32, 72, 97, 330, 43; sought by Royal Com's, 381; proposed to be chosen by the king for Plymouth, 388, 535, 600.
 Generalists, 400.
 Glorious end of Danforth, 522; progress of the gospel, 13.
 Gortonists, 17, 27, 30, 2, 124, 77, 397, 462, 660.
 Gospel, institutions rejected, 177, 8; liberty, 281; hindered, 333, 490; no more valued than a button, 521; support of, 529; Pemapuid, 534.
 Governor General. See General Governor.
 Government, change in civil and ecclesiastical expected, 189, 343, 80; abused, 453.
 Government, transactions of parliament, 2, 4, 5, 7, 9, 12, 5, 6, 46, 54, 5; petition, 70, 82, 4, 6, 9, 94, 8, 120, 3, 4, 30, 52, 228, 30, 1, 55, 98, 311, 8, 22, 45.
 Government of Acadie, 74, 121, 72.
 Government of Connecticut, 10, 32, 3, 9, 74, 5, 9, 87, 9, 100, 23, 33, 44, 9, 54, 84, 9, 221, 57, 68, 329, 38, 48, 73, 403, 13, 22, 44, 65, 97, 517, 61, 61.
 Government of Kennebeck, 121.
 Government of Lyconia, 28, 76, 7; submission to Mass., 118, 72.
 Government of Maine, 27, 8, 74, 5; annexed to Mass., 76, 7, 117, 22; none but protestants to dwell in Acadie, 172, 3, 97, 221; received under Mass., 217, 8, 51, 78, 317, 22, 53, 61, 4, 6, 7, 81, 9, 92, 456, 60, 507, 10, 3, 33, 6, 646.
 Government of Martha's Vineyard, 482, 520.
 Government of Massachusetts, 2, 18, 21, 6, 7, 8, 32, 52, 4, 5, 7, 61, 7, 8, 9, 75, 81, 92, 113, 24, 34, 66, 81, 6, 9, 90, 5, 233, 47, 8; free state, 250, 3, 6, 7, 9, 64, 311; opposed in Maine, 319, 20; Commissioners from the king, 345, 9, 54, 5; sustained by the people, 352; declaration to the Com's, 359, 60; try to conciliate the king, 361; address to him, 366, 7; commonwealth like, 381, 2, 9, 94, 7, 9, 401, 5, 11, 44, 7, 8, 9, 78; plea to conciliate the king, 506, 10, 3, 28.
 Government of Nantucket and Tuckanuckett, 482, 520.
 Government of N. Hampshire, 28, 9; annexed to Mass., 78, 120, 2, 74, 5, 97, 221, 50, 2, 78, 322, 4, 55, 61, 92, 4, 460, 1, 513, 36, 8; decision, 649.
 Government of New Haven, 10, 32, 3, 9, 71, 4, 5, 100, 29, 32, 3, 54, 84, 6, 9, 90, 7; privileges of freemen, 197, 257, 68, 90; disinclination to take the oath, 327, 30, 2, 6; complaint of Conn. 334; protest, 335, 7, 8, 48, 92, 403, 7; merged in Conn., 408, 11; regret the change, 666.
 Government of New Netherland, 4, 5, 31, 89, 93, 4, 105, 8, 20, 1, 4, 30, 2, 47, 71, 223, 307, 35, 7, 46; surrenders, 383, 8.
 Government of Plymouth, 10, 2, 21, 3, 7, 30, 2, 71, 4, 5, 9, 82, 100, 13, 7, 20, 1; reproof, 143, 61, 6, 71, 4, 209, 10, 233, 47, 50, 306, 13, 9, 48, 53, 81, 2, 8, 404, 44, 7, 8, 55, 61, 97, 8, 517, 24, 8.
 Government of Rhode Island, 21, 7, 9, 33, 72, 8, 87; condition of the people, 122, 8; decline, 151, 9, 61, 2, 73, 84, 96, 7, 207, 9, 22, 31, 12, 3, 52, 7, 87, 9, 309, 11, 3, 25, 9, 33, 53, 4, 5, 62, 82, 94, 403, 46, 51, 61, 5, 517, 38, 55, 603; agreement with J. Winthrop, 657.
 Government of United Colonies, 5; duties at Saybrook, 6, 11, 19, 41, 50, 1, 62, 74, 82, 9, 93, 5; controversy, 100, 1, 3, 9; reconciliation, 113, 4, 5, 24; dissent, 129, 30, 2, 5, 7, 43, 4, 7, 61, 70, 82, 6, 7; see Comm's of, 200; death penalty for Quakers, 201, 2, 10, 20, 4, 34, 5, 46, 8, 52, 62, 89, 92, 8, 307, 8, 12, 25, 6, 33, 6, 41, 2; Gen. Gov., 343, 7, 57; confederation contrary to charter, 361, 4, 6, 7, 82, 4; not formed to break from England, 385, 6, 405, 6, 19, 44, 5, 74, 97, 8.
 Graduates go abroad for employment, 67.
 Grain, wheat blasted, 345, 415, 522.
 Grand Vizier and Mary Fisher, 142.
 Grant of land to E. Wigglesworth, 33; for free schools in Mass., 227; to Malden for minister's support, 292; for schools in R. I., 327; to Chauncy and college, 344; to Hope Atherton, 477; for schools in Conn., 554.
 Groton destroyed, 586.
 Guard at the meeting-house on the Sabbath, 114; for Boston, 212, 555.
 Gunpowder treason, 361.

- Hair long and periwigs, 577.
- Half-way covenant, 6, 24, 38, 49, 92; its omission cause of corruption, 135, 41, 52, 4, 8, 87, 90, 1; proposed, 285, 90, 1, 4, 9, 310, 33, 9, 40, 1, 52, 65, 406, 7, 9, 12, 38, 9, 66, 72, 3, 8, 501, 5, 65, 607.
- Halter left off, 136.
- Hanging, 81, 212, 22, 53, 549.
- Harmony of the gospels, 630.
- Harvard. See College.
- Harvest small, 262, 469.
- Hats worn by Quakers, 234.
- Heart of New England hardened, 217; rent, 217.
- Heathen poets, 306, 521.
- Heresies, 54; increase of, 68, 493, 4; suppressed, 531, 72. See Errors.
- Hierarchy, prevailing, 230.
- Hinckley's law, 240.
- Hiring ministry, 84.
- Holidays, 360.
- Horses of Quakers forfeited, 244, 325.
- Hospitality, 364.
- Hostilities, 36; proposed with the French against the Mohawks, 75; Dutch and Indians against English, 93, 4; ceased between Holland and England, 107; English and French at Nova Scotia, 112; Naragansetts, 114, 524, 41, 645.
- House for a minister, 204; of Commons, 2, 4; of Correction, 199, 489; of Lords, 2; seizure of Hope, 131.
- Houses of ill fame, 394, 405, 6; worship, 643.
- Huguenots, a nickname, 21.
- Husbands and wives absent from each other to return, 265.
- Iankesick tried for murder, 550.
- Idleness to be dealt with, 527.
- Idolatry, 185, 494, 526.
- Ill news from New England, 67, 84, 5.
- Ill omen, "black coats," 201.
- Immersion of infants and adults, 116.
- Immorality, 176, 9, 81, 281, 398.
- Imperium in imperio, 351.
- Imposition of hands, 6, 87, 181, 91.
- Imprisonment, of Charles I., 2; John Dand, 4; for drunkenness, 8, 72; Quakers, 143, 5, 6, 9, 61, 3, 95, 7, 9, 252, 6, 73, 5, 8, 80, 2, 8, 300, 2, 538.
- Impropriations in Ireland, 292.
- Income for the king, 379.
- Inconsistency of the Independent way, 58, 9.
- Indecent speech, 36.
- Independence of New England, 274.
- Independency, 2, 25, 63, 4, 5, 196.
- Independent character of Massachusetts, 478, 9.
- Indian missions, 50, 1, 347, 8; reason for the averseness of Indians to the gospel, 551, 4, 6; opposition, 560, 1; courts kept, 631, 2; Christianity makes Indians less obedient, 650, 5, 66, 76, 7.
- Indian traders, 300.
- Indian war, 566, 71, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 80, 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 90, 3, 4, 5, 6, 600, 3, 12, 66, 80.
- Indians, fort, 352; Sagamores, instruction, 357; insolent, 363, 6; Pumbam's people expelled, 369; intemperance, 372, 86; church formed, 387, 400, 2; slaves, 418, 22; slain by Maquas, 440; at Merrimack River and Martha's Vineyard, 447, 8, 50, 1, 5, 61, 1, 81; church, 485, 98, 9, 502; churches, 508, 17, 9; drunkenness, 549, 50, 1, 9, 60; prisoners, 567; two killed by women, 596; left for Canada, 614, 5.
- Indians, Christian, prejudice against them, 569, 70, 1; to live on Deer Island, 574, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 80, 1, 3, 4, 6, 7, 91, 2, 7, 601, 2, 3, 4, 6, 9, 18, 9.
- Individuals not to live alone, 453.
- Infallibility, God has not granted, 63.
- Influence of New England Congregationalism on Old England, 3; of emigrants from New England on Old England, 59.
- Influenza, 136, 7.
- Inhabitants, care in their admission, 265, 6.
- Inquisition, Rev. John Wilson before the, 165.
- Insanity of Peter's wife, 106; increase of, 591.
- Installment. See Ordination.
- Instruction, 4, 7, 8, 10; English and Indian youth, 16, 8; at Natick, 21, 8, 38; of Indians at the Vineyard and Natick, 50, 1; at Vineyard, 69; New Haven, 90, 103, 46, 7, 84, 5, 357; for children and servants, 391, 484, 527; to William Stoughton and Peter Bulkley, 598.
- Instruction of sickness, 521.
- Instructions to agents, 232, 88.
- Instructors, orthodox and moral, 103.
- Insurrectionary spirit, 209, 39, 45, 319, 20, 37.
- Intemperance, 7, 8, 111, 76, 251, 314, 33, 52, 72, 92, 400, 51, 2, 509, 24, 6.
- Interpreter, 555, 60, 641.
- Intruders into town, 643.
- Invoice of wines, etc., 314.
- Irish charity, 677.
- Iron works of Lynn, 225, 32; Taunton, 385.

- Irreligion, 33.
 Israel, the outcasts of, to be gathered in, 369.
 Jealous of R. Williams, 87.
 Jew, trading with children, 265.
 Jewish legal authority, 236; origin of the Indians, 12, 3, 6, 22.
 Jews, calling of the, 23; divinely favored as New England, 504.
 Judgments for dealing with Quakers, 635, 6.
 Judicial concerns, 12, 5, 6, 25, 8, 32, 4, 42, 3, 53, 4, 61, 71, 2, 3, 9, 81, 103, 14, 6, 8, 9, 21, 31, 53, 68, 70, 226, 33, 47, 51, 6, 72, 3, 309, 13, 5, 43, 57, 63, 4, 94, 414, 29, 32, 77, 9, 503, 7, 11, 40.
 Jurisdiction, right of, goes with patent, 337.
 Jury, trial by, 121, 226, 359, 550.
 Justification, 5, 20, 1, 44, 5, 55, 210.
 Kempis' De Imitatione Christi, 438.
 Key of West Indies, 272.
 King of England, 2, 7; executed, 9.
 Kingly government, 276, 7.
 King's arms, 360; letter, 284, 98, 303, 4; Mason's claim, 648.
 Knowledge of Christ, 90.
 Land conquered from the Indians, 629.
 Land grants to President Chauncy, 136; schools, 227; Malden, 288; to Chauncy and college, 344; in Narragansett, taken by Commis'srs, 354, 86; to Earl of Clarendon, 403; for minister, 462; J. Davenport, Jr., 482; William Brown, 492; to Portsmouth, to Witchcott, 537; schools, 554.
 Languages, 3, 4, 10, 165, 9, 74, 87; Indian, 225, 66, 82, 308, 42, 346, 51.
 Law and order, 127, 80, 2.
 Laws, 8, 19, 26; Connecticut, 36; unsuitable preachers, 95, 6; against Quakers, 148, 9; New Haven, 184, 5; of death against Quakers, 201, 4, 60, 2; as to absent husbands and wives, 265; Quakers, 275, 6, 313, 4; freemen, 346, 64, 85; revised, 492, 6, 525; made according to Scripture, 531; Connecticut, 554, 6, 600, 8.
 Lay-ordination, 266, 7.
 Laying on of hands in baptism, 87.
 Learning University, enlargement of, 207.
 Leave from the King to buy an estate, 301.
 Lecture-days, 36, 381, 6, 489, 516, 20.
 Lecture, on logic, to Indians, 484; at Pinner's Hall, against popery, socinianism and infidelity, 488.
 Lecturer, 415, 69.
 Legislature justified by Davenport, 364, 5.
 Levy ordered, 337.
 Letter, of Eliot, 8; of Cotton and Dunster, 10; Cotton and Eliot, 12; Massachusetts General Court, 16; Bulkley to Cotton, 17; Eleutherian church, 19; to the legislature, Eliot to Whitfield, Mather to Rogers, 21; from Coddington, 29; R. Williams, 30, 1; Eaton to Stuyvesant, 34, 5; Cotton to Cromwell, 46; Cromwell's reply, 52; Vane, Saltonstall, 60, 1; Cotton to Saltonstall, 62, 3; Endicott to Vane, 68, 9; Leveridge to John Wilson, 72; from Rigby, 76; Winslow and others to R. Williams, 78, 9; from Williams, 82; William Arnold, R. Williams, 85, 7; of Mason, 89; of Norris, 94; for Ipswich and from Salem, 96; Peters to Gott, 103; to Cromwell, 107, 8; to Peters, 112; to and from R. Williams and H. Vane, 123, 5; to Vane and Clark, Providence, 127; to Cromwell, 130; from Cromwell, Wells, 131; from William Steel, 135; to churches, 143; from Connecticut to Cromwell, 149, 51; Endicott to Leverett, 159; from Eliot, 163; to Rhode Island, 166; from Cromwell, R. Williams, 171, 5; to Clark and Cromwell, 176; Commissioners to R. I., 182; R. I. to Mass., 183; Hartford church, Mr. Pierson, 186, 7; from New Haven, 189, 90; for Indian college, 198; from J. Endicott, 201; J. Leverett, 204; Endicott, 227; Norton to Dary, by J. Curwin, 228; Hull to Leverett, Wm. Leedra, 229; Mary Trask and M. Smith, 233; Cudworth, 243; Robinson, 244; to J. Clark, 253, 4; Anne Coddington, R. Williams, 256; from Missionary Corp'n, 260; Charles II. to Endicott, 270, 1; Leverett, Missionary Corp., 274; from Lord Say and Seal, 280; from the King, 284; to Boston church, 288; sent to England by agents, 289, 90; Mather, 293, 7; from the King, 298; by Whiting, 303; to Miss. Corp., 307, 8; Legislature to Owen, 309, 10; Gookin to Gorges, 320; Commissioners

- of Union to Rhode Island, 326, 8; to Earl of Manchester, 330; from Lord Say and Seal, 331; Goffe's wife, 332; New Haven to Connecticut, 334; from R. Boyle to Com'r's of United Colonies, 341, 2; to Dury, 344; to Missionary Society, 347, 8; to R. Boyle, 349; Royal Com'r's, Maverick, Earl of Clarendon, 353; Cartwright, 355; from Davenport, 364, 5; Eliot to Carr, from Boyle, 369; Nichols to Arlington, Morrice, king to Mass., 370; to Morrice, 375, 7, 9; king to Plymouth, 382; Mass. to Royal Com'r's, 390; to Nichols, 396; to Gorton, 399; from R. Williams, 401, 3; from Joseph Eliot, J. Winthrop, 405; New Haven, 408; J. Davenport, 410; Charles II., 411; to G. Bulkley, 412; to R. Carr, 414; from New Haven to Boston, 431; from R. Nichols, 461; S. Gorton, 462, 3; J. Eliot, 485; J. Collins, 490; P. Tilton, 496; J. Collins, 512; J. Knowles, 513; J. Eliot, 528; Colonel Goffe, from his wife, 554.
- Letters of dismission and recommendation, 6.
- Liberation of Dand, 4.
- Liberties of the churches, 230, 71; of Englishmen, 367; civil and religious, 470, 80.
- Libertine schooled, 153.
- Liberty in excess, 256, 7; of conscience, 5, 127, 8, 230, 303.
- Lies, 37, 114, 324. See False.
- Life of Cotton, 204.
- Light within, 145, 6, 286.
- Lincolnshire gentlemen, 550.
- Line for N. H. and Me., 78.
- Liquors, 7, 131; on the Sabbath, 315, 26, 72, 453.
- Literature, 2, 6, 9, 10, 2, 6, 7, 90, 370.
- Litigation forbidden among church members, 17.
- Living under family government, 527.
- Loadstone from Peters to Winthrop, Jr., 103.
- Loan desired, 376.
- Locks of Eng. slain by Indians, 666.
- Long hair, protest against, 12, 141.
- Looking-glass for the times, 588.
- Lords. See House of Lords.
- Lord's supper, 5, 115, 7, 224; terms of admission to, 296.
- Loss in Indian war, 598; of liberty feared, 349.
- Lottery, 526, 671.
- Magna Charta, holy scriptures the true, 15.
- Major General for New England, 297.
- Majority rule the minority in ecclesiastical matters, 164.
- Mandamus of Charles II., 282, 4, 7, 8.
- Man stealing, 314, 606.
- Manufactures, Lynn, iron, 225, 32; Taunton, do., 385.
- Map of Mass., 356.
- Maritime, 6, 7, 11, 115, 29, 31, 71, 99, 201, 40, 81, 4, 335, 57, 9, 60, 1, 72, 6, 409, 61; ship Ann, 477, 96, 503, 8, 9, 12, 49, 50, 73, 8, 99, 603, 11, 28, 9, 38, 46, 53.
- Market day, petition to change it, 656.
- Marriage, 5; consent of master, 73; in Eng. by magistrates, 98, 116, 79, 85; illegal, 313, 25; a man not to marry his wife's sister, 444, 9; frank, 530; a reason for exemption from military service, 588; illegal, 643.
- Masts, a present to the king, 375, 6.
- Means of union in Mass., 279.
- Meat in God's house, 153.
- Medical man stops at R. I., 326.
- Meeting-house at Ipswich, 422.
- Meeting of Quakers, 315, 542.
- Meetings not to be held without leave, 26.
- Members, church, when admitted, 444.
- Messengers from R. I. to England, 83.
- Messiah already come, 130.
- Method of divine grace, 165.
- Mighty in scripture, 521.
- Military concerns, Charles I. to give up the control of the militia, 2; officers, 96; pet. for removal of Capt. Cudworth, 234, 9, 43; R. I., military duty, 253, 81; the faithful officer, (sermon,) 305; York County militia, 320; expedition against the Dutch, 346, 64, 5, 6, 75, 87; affairs neglected, 402, 13, 8, 508, 50, 69, 85; duty, 669.
- Mill, grist from on the Sabbath, 316.
- Millennium, 416.
- Ministerial taxes, 453.
- Ministers, and their salaries, 3; and magistrates useless, 33; assemble at Natick, 70; candidates not to preach without consent of adjacent ministers or County Court, 95; protest of Salem church, 96, 8, 9, 143, 4; situation, 160, 1; heterodox and immoral, 220; in council about royal com'r's, 355, 73, 6; for Wickford, 404, 7, 20; of New England, 433; free from taxes, 480; obtained for Salem, 490, 508, 653.
- Ministry, if not supported at Nashaway the

- place must be given up, 18; of Matthews, 69; learning encouraged, 70, 95; maintenance, 107, 18, 43, 4, 60, 1; slighted, 166, 9, 292, 309, 459, 538, 9; neglected, 571, 2, 641.
Mint suppressed, 361.
Mission property litigated, 302, 41.
Mission to Indians, 4; Va., 7; New England, 8, 9, 10, 2; opposed, 13, 5, 6, 9, 20, 41, 50, 1, 5; conversions, 55, 8, 60, 9, 70, 2, 101, 2; examination, 105, 9, 32, 3; reproach, 135; funds, 137, 8, 40, 6, 7; inland, 152, 61, 4, 70, 3, 96, 209; cost, 210, 9, 42, 6, 8, 9, 60, 5, 7, 74, 82, 3, 7; continued by Charles II., 290, 3, 7, 392, 7, 31, 3, 41, 2, 4, 7, 8, 69, 70; misrepresented, 380, 3, 403, 5, 6, 20, 33, 40, 5, 50, 66, 71, 84, 5, 98, 502, 8, 16, 7, 9; in Plym., 532, 3, 51.
Mission to London hazardous and important, 285.
Missionaries, Jesuits, 27, 50, 1, 5, 6, 140, 347, 420; advice, 440, 600.
Missionary concerns, 4, 7, 10; society begins in Eng. for New England, 12; opposed, 13, 5, 23, 37, 8, 41, 2, 102, 33, 5, 341, 2, 7, 8.
Model of discipline. See Discipline.
Money and provisions for the colony, 592.
Mormons, 286.
Mortality, 3, 23, 68, 224, 522.
Morton's memorial, 435.
Moses and Aaron, 221, 86.
Mourning clothes, 362.
Murders by English, 549; by Indians, 36, 352, 549, 50.
Musicians, 508.
Mystery of Israel's salvation, 369.
Narrative of commissioners, 379, 81, 8, 92, 4, 400; of transactions with the royal commissioners, 368.
Nature of New England government, 107.
Navigation act, 357.
Necessity of punishment, 175.
Neck and heels, 311.
Negro slavery, 85.
Nehemiah on the wall, (election sermon,) 416.
Neonomianism, 48.
New churchmen, 505.
New England fire brand quenched, 661.
New England's true interest, 424.
New England heavens, 22.
Nonintercourse with New Netherland, 335, 70.
Non-professors, 3.
North line of Massachusetts, 78.
Notes in preaching, first minister who used them, 473.
Notice of H. Green, Harrison, 7; J. Winthrop, 10; U. Oakes, 13; J. Collins, 13, 4; T. Shepard, 14; N. and S. Mather, 21; Knowles, 23; H. Smith, 33, 4; Mary Fenwick, 35; T. James, 38; H. Whitfield, 39; E. Gibbons, 40, 1; Butler, 42; Chauncy, 47, 8; G. Tyrnan, 48, 9; T. Allen, 59; Pyncheon and Moxon, 65; M. Matthews, 69; J. Cotton, 70; J. Bowser, 90; Dudley, 97; J. and N. Ambrose, E. Rawson, 99; W. Leveridge, 114; J. Lothrop, 115; E. Poole, 116; J. Haynes, 130, 1; N. Rogers, 136; Catharine Mather, 139; J. Whiting, 148; J. Noyes, 150; J. Mathew, 159, 60; T. Mayhew, Jr., 164, 5; E. Winslow, 166, 7; Myles Standish, 168; W. Bradford, 169; D. Maud, 174; S. Cotton, 184; P. Prudden, J. Haynes, W. Hooke, 186, 8; E. Hopkins, 188, 9; Fenwick, 192, 3; Cromwell, 200, 5; P. Bulkley, 206; W. Brimsmead, 226; R. Partridge, 235; H. Dunster, 240; Baker, 246; J. Smith, 247; Robert Gutch, 249; Moody, 251; S. Cotton, 252; T. Eaton, 257, 8; John Jones and son, 261; of R. Blinman, 264, 5; of E. Rogers, 269, 70; R. Smith, 271; T. Gilbert, 280; S. Haugh, 291; W. Worcester, 300; J. Norton, 302; J. Woodbridge, 305, 6; J. Miller, 306, 7; M. Wigglesworth, 309; T. Millet, 311; T. Dalton, 322; John Brock, 323; G. Bulkley, 331; S. Stone, Sen. and Jr., 335, 6; Z. Bridgen, R. Denton, 338; Gov. Endicott, 354; J. Smith, 394; J. Eliot, 405; Adam Blackman, J. Chauncy, 411; N. Chauncy, 412; J. Woodbridge, 413; J. Wilson, 418, 9; J. Hale, 420, 1; J. Holyoke, 422; S. Sheppard, H. Flint, 424; J. Mitchell, 429; W. Walton, J. Eliot, Jr., 430; R. Mather, 436, 7; S. Brackenbury, W. Woodward, E. Mather, 439; J. Davenport, 442; J. Reynier, 460; W. Wickenden, 463; N. Collins, Z. Walker, 470; J. Warham, 473; J. Pruden, 474, 5; Z. Symmes, 477; J. Allyn, 482, 3, 4; C. Chauncy, 487, 8; J. Amanhut, 488; E. Johnson, 489; A. Newman, 500; R. Bellingham, 501, 2;

- M. Powell, 503; J. Gilbert, 509; T. Gould, 513; S. Danforth, 520; J. Oxenbridge, B. Blackman, 523, 4; T. Prince, 530; T. Willet, 532; E. Hilton, John Reyn-ner, 537; J. Belcher, 538; J. Mason, 553; N. Street, 557, 8; E. Joanes, Z. Walker, R. Fordham, 559; L. Hoar, 579, 80; T. Clark, 601, 2; Wun-nanauhkomun, 604; E. Brown, 609; T. Shepard, 620; J. Brown, 624; T. Thacher, 629; N. Baker, 643; J. Clark, 652, 3; S. Gorton, 658, 9; W. Coddington, 661, 4; T. James, 668; J. Winthrop, 672, 3.
- Notices for meeting by sound of drum, 517; on meeting - house doors or posts, 19.
- Oaths, 5; of fidelity, 62, 84, 169, 97, 235, 8, 40, 2, 4, 5, 7, 97, 313, 9, 20, 1, 57, 97, 401, 9; of allegiance to England, 121, 61, 627.
- Obituary. See Deaths.
- Objections to confession of faith and discipline, 46; to ordination, 69, 70; to R. Williams, 83.
- Obstinate contemner of ordinances, 555.
- Officers, church, 6; chosen, 489.
- Old churchmen, 505.
- Omission to shave the beard and uncover the head, 204.
- Opinions of the council, 374, 6; of Lechford, 3; of the Quakers, 286.
- Opposers of religion and ministers, 493.
- Opposition to Coddington's patent, 81, 4, 6; of sachems, to Indian mission, 21, 38; in England, 41.
- Oppression to be resisted, 93, 352.
- Order of council, 196.
- Ordinances, neglected, 72, 3, 93.
- Ordinary. See Public House.
- Ordination and installation, 6, 19; repeated, 64; prevented, 69, 70, 138, 91; by laymen, 266, 7, 309, 17; I. Mather, 344; J. Eliot, Jr., 346; J. Keith, 383; G. Shove, 386; G. Bulkley, 112, 70, 1; M. Fisk, 499, 522, 3.
- Organs used, 226.
- Orthodox evangelist, 66, 302.
- Orthodox ministry protected by government, 525.
- Orthodoxy required of candidates for freemen, 346, 7, 80, 526.
- Outcasts of Israel, 369.
- Pacification of churches, by Dury, 228.
- Papacy. See Catholic Religion.
- Parishes, 10, 144, 69; in Eng., 189, 90, 1, 240, 340, 85, 676.
- Parishional constitution, 84.
- Parsonage house, 317, 493.
- Parties in England, 95.
- Pastoral connection dissolved, 267, 8.
- Pastors and teachers, 6, 25, 57.
- Patents, new one desired by Parliament for Mass., 51, 5; Maine within Mass. Patent, 76; Lygonia, 76; Plough Patent, 77; N. Hamp., 78; R. I. and Plymouth, 78, 9; Coddington's, 81, 3; uncertainty of, 119, 20, 2, 7; Mass., 180; forfeiture, 232; just as to Maine bounds, 248, 304, 6; sale of Kennebecke, 315, 8, 9; Conn., 329, 32; cost of charter, 333; N. Haven, 337; of Mass., 350, 1, 2; confirmation of, 383.
- Patriotism of New England, 52, 4, 5.
- Pawns given by Indians, 530.
- Peace with Holland, 105, 7, 21, 510, 59.
- Peltry trade, 250.
- Penalty, for dancing, 42; slandering government, 43; hanging out clothes Sunday, 72; for being a Quaker, 163, 5; for playing cards, 167; for having Quaker books, 175; selling liquor, 176; for certain offences, 179; for playing cards and dice, 191; entertaining Quakers, 193; absence from worship, 195; holding Quaker meetings, 197, 9; for coming to Boston, 202; of death against Quakers, 206; Quakers, 216; for various offences, 218; of death, 220; absence from worship, 223; against Quakers, 234; for profaning the Sabbath, 237; absence from worship, holding Quaker meetings, etc., 240, 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 52, 3, 4; introducing Quakers, 260; against do., 261; trading with children, 265; for being suspected, 273; Quakers, 280, 1; wearing clothes above one's condition, 292; going naked through Salem, 301; Quakers, 309, 11, 12; unlawful marriage, etc., 313, 20; for disrespect to Bay Comm'rs, 321; for exposure of person, 324; against Baptists, 376; for keeping Christmas, 380; absence from worship, 393; Baptists and Quakers, 428, 9, 32; against T. Maule, 437; Quakers, 439, 45; offering marriage without consent of parents, vagrancy, 449; sun-dry offences, 451, 3;

- refusing to support the ministry, 465; for idolatry, blasphemy, etc., for contempt of preachers, 555; against Baptists, 567; absence from worship, 601; contempt of court, 609; absence from worship, 615; slander, 620; against liquor selling, 641; for leaving colony, 669; for disorderly conduct Saturday night and Sunday, 673.
- Pentagoet Fort, protestants to be driven out, 27.
- Perfectionists, 190.
- Peril of Mass. colony, 279, 86, 364, 6, 7, 73, 8, 415, 6, 25; of protestant churches, 680.
- Persecution, 7; in England, 332, 564.
- Persecutors mauled, 322.
- Perseverance of the saints, 5.
- Person and estate disposed of by court, 277.
- Persons distressed by war, 695.
- Persons ordered for England, 373, 6.
- Petition, sale of wine, 8; of Boston for repeal of duties on imports from other colonies, 11; of females, for Matthews, 53; to Parliament, 54; for Mrs. Hawkins, 79; of Williams to embark from Boston, 83, 5; for Lt. Robert Pike, 103, 11; of Robert Jordan, for release, 121; from Hampton, 122; to Cromwell, for frigate, 129, 30; of Edward Saunders, 136; wife of Nicholas Upshall, 149; from inhabitants of Rehoboth, 167; inhabitants of Portsmouth, 175; from Ipswich as to privilege of freemen, 197; for severe laws against the Quakers, 202; of Boston to become a city, 208; of William Dyer, for his mother, 212; to Cromwell, 247; that Maine may remain under Mass., 274; from Ipswich, Newbury and Sudbury, 280; of James Pepin, Jr., 281; of John Bouton, to live in Mass., 299; of Eunice Cole and others, 323; to Charles II., 347; from Boston, Salem, Ipswich and Newbury, 373, 5, 6, 7; Duke and Duchess of Hamilton, 404, 9; of people of Hatfield, 415; Ipswich, 418; people in Swansey, 449; persons in Windsor, 469; selling Indians into slavery, 569; Nat. Byfield, 588; for Indian prisoners, 594; John Buss, 647; change as to market-day, 656; of J. Hawkins and J. Hull, 666.
- Petitioners, like king's party, 381.
- Philip's son sold as a slave, 639.
- Physician, female, 283, 394; best in Conn., 673; price, 677.
- Picture of Salem marshal, 245.
- Pillar over Quaker graves in Boston, 572.
- Pillory, 34, 533.
- Pirates, 152.
- Plague in London, 23, 367, 459.
- Plantation covenant, 468.
- Plantation of Plymouth at Kennebeck, 250, 1; mistakes, 307; of religion, not of trade, 303. See Settlements.
- Platform of church discipline. See Discipline.
- Platform of doctrine and government, 4, 6, 16, 8, 9, 23, 8, 96, 7, 153.
- Playne's farm, 352.
- Plca of legislature for learning, 70; of Bradstreet, 100, 1.
- Plot of Dutch and Indians, 128, 30.
- Plunder, 671.
- Polemical times, 66.
- Police and royal comm'rs, 363, 4.
- Pool's synopsis, 445.
- Poor of the church, 25.
- Pope renounced, 471.
- Pope guard, recovery of England, 178.
- Popish inquisition in New England, 205, 55.
- Popular freedom excessive, 17, 8.
- Popular government of England proclaimed, 9.
- Popularity of New England, 21.
- Population of R. I., 128; of towns, 160.
- Port Royal capitulates, 121.
- Power of church and presbytery, 6.
- Powow, 527, 666; renunciation of, 13, 56, 69, 352, 556.
- Prayer, Cobbett's discourse, 105; Christ's prayer for believers, 194; by Gilbert for the king, 509; spirit of, 587, 8; prevalence of, 595; for the rising generation, 625.
- Preachers permitted, 95, 6, 8, 198; heterodox, 338, 9, 92; provided by court, 485; not to preach constantly without consent of court, 493.
- Preaching, 387; price per Sabbath, 640, 74, 7.
- Prejudice against synod, 466.
- Preparation for defence, 364.
- Presbyterian, 191.
- Presbyterian way, 505.
- Presbyterianism, 3; depressed, 7, 9; communion with congregationalism, 10, 23, 40, 58, 63, 4, 5, 160, 96, 256; advocated, 293, 352.
- Presbyterians, 95, 191, 209, 97.
- Presbytery, rule of, 196.
- Present to the king, 361, 75, 6; and queen, 400.

- Presentments, 28, 153, 321, 2.
- Printing, 219; licensed, 299, 352, 515, 27.
- Prison, 4, 34; in Salem, 307; in Conn., 465; fare, 510; Boston, 610.
- Prisoner, put to death by Indians, 575.
- Prisoners taken by Cromwell, 47; Indian, 638, 40.
- Private meetings, religious, 259, 493.
- Privilege of freemen without being church members, 191.
- Prize vessel, 115.
- Productions, 160, 522.
- Profanity punished, 34, 6, 176, 84, 392, 497, 526, 55.
- Profession of Wannalanet, 518.
- Progress in reformation, 304; of the gospel, 341.
- Prophecy, lay preaching, 24, 571.
- Proposition of Mass. to comm'r's of the union, 6; of Canada to war against the Mohawks, 71; of Cromwell to settle Jamaica, 151; from royal comm'r's, 397, 9, 409, 10.
- Prosecutions. See Judicial and Penalty.
- Prosperity of New England, 21, 55.
- Protector declines the title of king, 152.
- Protest against long hair, 12, 119, 24; of Conn., New Haven, 337.
- Protestant for Puritan, 297, 430.
- Protestants driven from Pentagoet Fort, 27; none but Protestants allowed in Nova Scotia, 172, 3; persecuted, 185, 281; petition to remove to Mass., 299, 356.
- Proverb verified, 589.
- Providence, doctrine of, 5.
- Providence hill, regicides secreted at, 329, 30.
- Psalms book, 418.
- Psalms, Indian, 210, 67, 308, 47; Boston men appointed to set them, 497.
- Psalter, 347.
- Public houses, 7, 8; ship tavern, 42, 127, 75, 9, 85, 315, 94, 530, 1.
- Public men needed, 68.
- Public worship, attendance, 33, 7; in Boston with an Indian, 57, 8, 62, 3, 71, 2, 90; among soldiers, 110; of others, 142, 3; at Springfield, 165, 6; disturbed, 168; military guard, 169, 70; at Northampton, 208; disturbed, 224, 7, 8, 40; Sabbath breakers at Falmouth ordered to meet for, 249; absenting from, 277; conducted by brethren, 318, 87, 97, 410, 59, 69, 520, 6; besides congregational allowed, 555; worship, 635.
- Publication of law by beat of drum, 149.
- Publications, 2, 3, 4, 6, 9, 13, 7, 20, 3, 43, 5, 8, 9, 50, 2, 8, 9, 62, 3, 9, 81, 4, 7, 90, 105, 6; to be burnt, 103, 30, 41; of Quakers to be burnt, 142, 8, 50, 3, 65, 75, 7, 8, 80, 2, 4, 7, 8, 94; Quaker pub., 203, 6, 9, 11, 3, 6, 7, 23, 4; Quaker pub. to be seized, 241, 2, 50, 2, 5, 62, 5, 73, 6, 86, 7, 91, 2, 4, 300, 2, 8, 9, 12, 22, 35, 6, 8, 41, 2, 4, 7, 8, 68, 9, 405, 15, 6, 8, 20, 3, 4, 30, 2, 3, 8, 41, 51, 62, 78, 86, 91, 8, 522, 3, 4, 33, 8, 48, 9, 51, 2, 8, 65, 7, 88, 609, 12, 5, 20, 1, 5, 6, 7, 30, 43, 55, 61.
- Publishment of intended marriage, 172.
- Punishment, fine, 7; stocks, 8; whipping, 72, 3, 143, 9, 61, 3, 7, 8; denied, 175, 84, 5, 234; laid neck and heels, 242, 51, 3, 9, 73, 8, 30, 2, 92; stripped, 301, 7, 9, 11; label, 312, 6, 20, 1, 4, 43; future, 5. See Penalty.
- Puritanism from Leyden to New England, and then to Old England, 24, 35.
- Puritans, 24.
- Purpose of independence by Mass., 279; settling the country, 147, 303, 4, 12, 6, 514, 25, 9, 83; the Indians to destroy the Christians, 147.
- Put to death. See Executed.
- Quakers, 20, 2; why so called, 140; order concerning, 142, 4; law, 148, 9; admonished, 159, 61, 3, 5, 8, 70, 1, 5, 81, 3, 6, 93, 5, 7; death penalty, 201, 3; writings, 203, 4; sale of, 206, 19; cause of their own sufferings, 213, 4, 8, 23, 5, 33; in Plymouth colony, 233, 46, 51, 6, 8, 62, 9, 72, 8, 80; influence of royal order, 284, 6, 9, 91, 2, 6, 8, 300, 2, 6, 7, 9, 15, 20, 3; sign, 324, 5, 43, 5, 8, 52, 62, 3, 9, 73, 81, 93, 9, 400, 2, 3, 18, 25, 9, 32, 7, 9, 45, 94, 500, 2, 7, 11, 4, 6, 38, 40, 9, 50, 72, 7, 82, 96, 603, 9, 11, 2, 28; petition, 642, 56, 7, 9; why so called, 661.
- Quarantine, 367.
- Question among Quakers about wearing hat in prayer time, 582.
- Questions to Quakers, 145; before synod, 154 to 8, 284, 5; Quakers unsettled, 288; proposed to petitioners, 377.
- Railing and scolding, 495.
- Railing papers, 236.
- Raised Lazarus, 462.
- Ranters. See Denominations.
- Rates, 36, 7, 450, 3.

- Reading sermons part of worship, 317.
 Real Christian, 49.
 Reasons, against emigration, 55, 6; for severity to Quakers, 214, 5; assigned for Indian war, 583, 600.
 Rebaptizing in Woburn, 621.
 Rebel, J. Bonighton declared a, 247.
 Rebellion vs. Massachusetts, 377.
 Rebellious children, 37, 185; son, 355, 66.
 Recanting, 61.
 Recommendation, church, 6.
 Records of baptism, 310; of Rhode Island, 395.
 Recover our first New England interest, 514.
 Redemption, by Pynchon, 20, 43, 5, 51; by Holyoke, 205; reply, 650.
 Reformation in the English church, 3; of religion, 303, 514, 571, 2, 4, 603.
 Refractoriness charged to Massachusetts, 380, 6.
 Regicides, 229, 30, 329, 32.
 Reign of Christ, 178.
 Relation of the difficulties between Boston and Ipswich churches, 136.
 Relations with the Dutch, 4, 5.
 Religion as twelve, world as thirteen, 303.
 Religious experience, 15; principles, 307.
 Relinquishment of charter, 54, 6.
 Remarkable providences, 147, 8.
 Remarks of T. Shepard, of J. Fraser, 14, 5; J. Knowles, 23; Saltonstall, 60; of M. Matthews, 62; J. Cotton, 66; Mary Prince, 146; D. Denison, 200; of Cotton, 212; of woman at Salem, 218; of Quakers, 222; of king as to Quakers, 229, 35, 6; N. Baker, 246; W. Harris, K. Scott, 253; Allen, Leddra, 272, 3, 80; S. Newman, 317; of Quakers, 363; of Nichols, 370; of R. Williams, 393; J. Wilson, 417.
 Remonstrants foiled, 4.
 Renewing covenant, 18, 630.
 Repentance, doctrine of, 5.
 Reply to Apollonius, 2; to Pynchon, 54; to Saltonstall, 62, 3; Vane, 68, 176.
 Report of debate in council, 374; parliamentary of Mass., 278, 9.
 Reprieve of M. Dyer, 212.
 Reprint of the Scriptures, 18.
 Reprisals on the Dutch, 124.
 Reproach of magistrates, 149.
 Reprobate, 273.
 Reproof to Plymouth, 143, 68.
 Republican principles, 273.
 Republicans, 95.
 Resistance to laws by Quakers, 168, 80.
 Resources of Mass., 357.
 Respect for New England men, 21.
 Respondents to the king, 371, 1, 5, 8, 9.
 Responsibility to England, 3,000 miles, 377.
 Resurrection, doctrine of, 5.
 Restoration of Charles II., 220.
 Restrictions on church candidates, 3.
 Result of council, 193; Indian education, 519.
 Retraction of Eliot, 277.
 Return of agents, 298.
 Reunion of R. I. and Providence Plantations, 26.
 Revenue from Maine and N. Hamp., 538.
 Reverend, title of, 310.
 Revival of religion, 51, 430, 53.
 Revolution in England, 2, 9, 34.
 Riding fast on the Sabbath, 453.
 Right of New England to its religion, 427.
 Ring presented by Winthrop, 331.
 Rogereens. See Denominations.
 Rogers, Elizabeth, divorced from her husband because heterodox, 676.
 Romanism. See Catholic Religion.
 Room in Boston for elders, 98.
 Rope round the neck, 355.
 Royal communications, 404; order declined, 375.
 Royalists, 247.
 Ruling elders, 6, 25, 57, 99, 161, 247, 523.
 Rupture, 242.
 Sabbath, 5; broken, 7, 25, 6; denied, 28, 33; from sunset to sunset, 33; violated, 37, 72, 3, 98, 9, 115, 6, 21, 7, 9, 50, 67, 72, 84, 5, 203, 37, 8, 44, 315, 6, 26, 33, 52, 86, 92, 418, 29, 31, 2, 51, 65, 9, 524, 6, 7, 31, 2, 57, 60, 7, 608; prevents its being violated, 609, 27; arms at meeting, 632, 73.
 Sachems. See Sagamores.
 Sack, 131.
 Sackcloth worn as a sign, 301, 610.
 Sacraments, 5, 413; assessment, 470; every six weeks. See Lord's Supper.
 Sacrifice of a son, 204.
 Sagamores, tribute, 21; opposition, 38, 109; efforts to elect a good one, 111; resist the gospel, 561.
 Sailing on the Sabbath, license, 129.
 Salamander, 4.
 Salaries of ministers, 3; complaint, 36, 7, 68, 89, 101, 7, 43; short, 152, 3, 60; denied by the minority, 164; taxes, 169, 331, 3; of officers, 337, 52, 454, 5, 501, 3, 10, 22, 6, 9; of college, 565; ministers, 677; of in-

- structor, 266; school master of Swanzy, 530.
- Sale of Indians by R. I., 254.
- 'Saltmarsh returned from the dead,' 177.
- Sanctification, 5.
- Saturday and Sunday eve, 203, 414.
- Sayings. See Remarks.
- Scarcity of provisions, 93.
- Schism, review of nature of, 160; schismatics, 376, 81.
- Scholars to assist ministers, 413.
- School, free, 227; grammar at New Haven, 263, 6; for Indians at Cambridge, 348; Plymouth, 530, 1, 678; of better religion, 370; lands of Providence, 327; masters free from training, 35, 146, 7; in every town, 316; at Plymouth, 453, 4, 641.
- Scripture, 5; new edition, 18; denial forbidden, 61, 167, 85; denial, 494, 525, 6; commentary, 114.
- Seal of England, 9; of Harvard college, 18.
- Sedan, 523.
- Sedition charged on Hawthorne, 379, 80.
- Seekers, 46, 9, 61, 3, 6, 73, 84, 168.
- Seizure of Whalley and Goffe, 271.
- Select cases, 2.
- Selectmen to see that families be instructed, 527.
- Self-murderer, burial of, 226.
- Selling liquor, 524; of Scots, 47.
- Separation examined, 63, 4.
- Separatists, 24.
- Servants and children need restraint, 138.
- Services of Winslow, 13; New England men in Old England, 559.
- Session of opposite authorities, 457, 8.
- Settlements, not without ministry, 18; of Delaware, 35, 71; at Norwottuck, 208; at Quabog and Saco river and Stony river, 221; at Cape Fear, 232, 307; must have religious supplies, 316; Block Island, 396, 9, 404, 12; Quabog, 417, 29; Squakeake, Hudson, 500; Hadley, Deerfield, 506; at N. York, 553.
- Seventh-day Baptists, 397, 9, 402, 85, 632.
- Shipwrecks, 68; Mayhew, 165.
- Shuffle board, 37, 185.
- Sickness. See Diseases.
- Sifting a whole nation for this wilderness, 425.
- Sign of spiritual destitution, 324; the cross, 226. See Symbol.
- Signification of church, 432.
- Silver of contributions, 331.
- Singing psalms, 46, 64, 243, 9, 313, 8; rude, 313.
- Sins, public, 68, 577.
- Sion college, 219.
- Slander of church, ministry or ordinance, 26, 321, 2, 516.
- Slaves, Scots sold for, 47; in R. I., 85; Spanish, 474; Indians sold, 532; Philip's son sold, 639; in R. I., 653, 4.
- Small pox, 376, 415; very prevalent, 611, 21.
- Snow, 441.
- Sober word to a serious people, 49, 50, 81.
- Socinians, 426.
- Soul passive in vocations, 66.
- Speaking against authorities, 12, 6.
- Special grace, 66.
- Specimen of Christ's kingdom, 505.
- Spies, 583.
- Spinning among Indian converts, 283.
- Spiritual baptism, 65.
- Stand for your liberties, 506.
- Standing mute, 277; on a block, 555.
- State religion, 239.
- Statutes of England, 315.
- Stealing, 254, 524; Indians, 606.
- Stock for three fellowships, 68.
- Stocks, 8, 25, 37, 73, 114, 76, 99, 234, 7, 44, 309, 11, 3, 82, 96, 451, 65, 6, 524, 6, 55, 632.
- Storms, 68.
- Stover for cattle, 239.
- Strangers, to be notified, 7; to give account of themselves, 19; take an oath, 62; not admitted without leave, 86, 116; crept into towns, 387; to give bonds for fidelity, 573.
- Strength out of weakness, 62.
- Strong waters, 111, 27, 31, 314.
- Students of Harvard to be taught in knowledge and godliness, 18; withdraw, 137; whipped and fined, 149.
- Study of divinity at Harvard, 601.
- Subjects of baptism, 285, 91, 3, 4.
- Submission of Maine to Massachusetts, 75, 7; of New Hampshire, 78; of Maine, 118, 9; Lygonia, 118; of N. Haven to Conn., 409.
- Subscribers for Pike, 111.
- Sufferings of Mrs. Rowlandson among the Indians, 585.
- Summons of five from Mass. to England, to answer charges of com'm's, 370.
- Support of ministers, 62, 167, 74.
- Supreme authority of England, 95; judiciary in Legislature, 380.
- Swedes, fortifications, 171.
- Symbol, 241; bottles, 312.
- Synodical sentence, 294.
- Synodists, 505.
- Synods, 5, 6, 16, 21, 3, 4, 45; result, 52; of united colonies, 149; result, 153, 9; for

- controversy in Conn., 187, 9, 91, 3; consociation, 284; proposed to New England churches, 287, 90, 2, 3, 9, 300, 1, 10, 3, 33, 8, 41, 52, 8, 413, 9, 22, 66, 70, 8, 90, 505, 7.
 Syriac, 10.
 Tar pits, 25.
 Tavern. See Public House.
 Taxes, for ministry, 36, 66; for college, 111; of church and state, R. I., 126; Plymouth, 167; for ministers, 240; in R. I., 327; church and commonwealth, 256; for Conn. charter, 333, 7; on land, 356, 480, 526, 677, 8.
 Teachers. See Instructors.
 Temperance, 7; act, 8; in New England, 49, 414, 90, 1.
 Temple measured, 150.
 Ten tribes, supposed to be New England Indians, 10, 3, 6.
 Terms of partaking the sacrament, 296.
 Test act, 503.
 Testimony as to Quakers, 215.
 Texts in sermons, 521.
 Thanksgiving, 73, 108, 49, 84, 5, 7, 217, 78, 98, 331, 4; to be kept Nov. 5 and May 29, 367, 76, 421, 3, 46, 51, 508, 55, 67, 76, 602, 16, 70, 1, 5, 6, 80.
 Theological books, 2; institution, 501, 2.
 Thou and thee, 222.
 Threats of Quakers, 274, 321.
 Three years study changed to four, 226.
 Threnodia, 336.
 Tobacco, use of, 137, 452, 3, 526, 37.
 Toleration, counseled, 61; R. Williams, 81; want of, 97; not what they came to New England for, 303; in Conn., 471; Mass., 490, 506, 10, 89, 622.
 Tongue bored with a hot iron, 163, 261.
 Tower, fear of, 287.
 Towle, Sarah, divorced, 676.
 Town of small means assisted to pay their minister, 491; every town to have a house of worship, 632.
 Towns allowed on condition to support minister, 396, 410, 3, 63; ministers obtained for, 552; of praying Indians, 232.
 Tractate of Norton, 204, 8, 13, 6, 7.
 Trade, decay, 93, 127, 74, 6, 83, 249; Baltic, 257, 72, 88, 314, 409, 14; trading houses, 574.
 Traitors, 357, 8.
 Translation of the Bible into Indian, 12.
 Transubstantiation, 503.
 Traveled to Adrianople, 142.
 Traveling by row boat, 546.
 Treason, 83, 176, 81, 2, 541, 2.
 Treaties, Eng. and Dutch, 4, 5, 74; with Indians, 315, 42, 429, 524, 7, 9, 68, 602, 35.
 Trial of Charles I., 9; petitioners, 376.
 Trials of N. Eng., 225.
 Tribute to Sagamores, 109, 10.
 Trimming a servant, 316.
 Trinity, 5, 230.
 Troops raised, 592.
 Trophies, 638.
 Trouble with crown, 617.
 True New England man, 303.
 Trust in Providence, 522.
 Twenty-one questions, 154.
 Two last witnesses, 108.
 Types, Greek and Hebrew, 370.
 Tythingmen, 608.
 Uncas, 551; son stolen, 609.
 Unbaptized people, 3.
 Uniformity God never commanded, 63.
 Union of New Haven with Conn., 409, 10; reformers, 304.
 United Colonies. See Government of.
 Unity of the Godhead, 5.
 Universal redemption, 33, 65, 255, 6.
 Universalist, 180.
 Universities of Cambridge and Oxford promote Indian mission, 13.
 University learning, 207, 8.
 Unsafe and unsound expressions, 42.
 Use of dogs in Indian war, 673.
 Vegetation injured, 4, 27.
 Verses applied to Charles II., 220.
 Vessel arrives from Ireland with provisions, 603.
 Victories of parliament, 73; thanks for, 676.
 Village granted to Portsmouth, 537.
 Vindication of the covenant, 9; of Massachusetts, 506, 7.
 Violation of charter, 357.
 Violence of parties in R. Island, 86.
 Visible church, 6.
 Visiting from house to house, 423, 4.
 Vizard, 526.
 Vizier, grand, reception of Mary Fisher, 142.
 Vocation, doctrine, 5.
 Volunteers, 104.
 Voters for heterodox or immoral deputies to be fined, 110.
 Voting illegally, 113, 533.
 Vows, 5.
 Waiting for a new gospel, 493.
 Wampum, 36, 89, 662.
 War by Conn. against Indians, 36, 68; by Mohawks, 75; Dutch and Indians, 93, 4, 104, 16, 29; against French and Dutch, 411, 2, 553. See Hostilities.
 Warding, 35.
 Watch over children of the church, 6.
 Watching, 34, 5.

- Watering of the plants in Christ's garden, 153.
 Way of the Congregational churches cleared, 2.
 Weights and measures, 392.
 Welsh records, 317.
 Westminster Assembly's confession of faith, 4, 605.
 Whale, part for the ministry, 314.
 Wheat blasted, 345.
 Wheels, cards and cotton for mission, 283.
 Whipping, 12, 34, 57, 61, 3, 72, 3, 80, 1, 161, 2, 3, 8, 95, 7, 9, 234, 7, 44, 51, 3, 60, 2, 73
 5, 7, 81, 307, 9, 11, 20, 1, 4, 43, 5, 8, 55, 73, 82, 516, 26, 7, 9, 31, 609.
 Will of Keayne, 98; Elizabeth Poole, 116; William Burnell, 218.
 Wine, 127, 31, 314.
 Witchcraft, execution, 4, 16, 34, 43, 5, 57; in Conn., 88; in Plym., 117; at Kennebeck, 121; Mrs. Hibbins, 140; Mrs. Walford, 175, 84, 5; Mrs. Holmes, 226, 313; Mrs. Garlic, 260; Mrs. Seager, 335, 494, 526, 66, 640.
 Woe to drunkards, 509.
 Wolf skins, two, sign of Narraganset sachem to the king, 400.
 Word of God the only magna charta, 15, 6.
 Workhouse for the idle, 238.
 Works, good, 5.
 World as thirteen, 303.
 Worship of Indians, 326. See Public Worship.
 Worship "to the devil," 527.
 Worthies of N. England, 607, 8.
 Yea and nay, 222.

227.24

